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ABSTRACT

The 12 papers collected in this volume were written by graduate students in a magazine publishing seminar conducted at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Papers discuss a range of topics related to contemporary magazines and are of interest to editors, publishers, journalism educators, and students. Titles include "Black Consumer Magazines: 'Black Enterprise,' 'Ebony,' 'Essence'"; "Regional Lifestyles: 'Better Homes and Gardens,' 'Southern Living,' 'Sunset'"; "Men's Entertainment Magazines: 'Oui,' 'Penthouse,' 'Playboy'"; and others. (KS)

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MAGAZINE PROFILES

Studies of a dozen contemporary magazine groupings

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Medill School of Journalism
Northwestern University
Evanston, Ill. 60201

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Preface

Magazine Profiles is a collection of a dozen papers written by graduate students in a Magazine Publishing Seminar which I taught at Medill during the fall quarter, 1974. The reports were intended to enlarge their understanding of magazines as a primary medium of communication in the modern world. Although the reports originally were thought of as conventional term papers, it quickly became apparent that the information would be of pertinent interest to editors, publishers, journalism educators and students - anyone curious about the current position and development of magazines. And so the project grew into a published study of the contemporary scene.

There is a dearth of material readily available about magazines, The standard books in the field are dated and articles about magazines are scattered through many different publications. We hope that Magazine Profiles will be a useful contribution to a better understanding of magazines.

We are especially grateful to John Johnson for making the publication of this booklet possible.

Bob Kenyon

Robert E. Kenyon, Jr.
Visiting Professor

Evanston, Ill.
December, 1974

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Two Decades of Three Magazines (1955-1974):
Atlantic, Esquire, The New Yorker

Wilson E. Durham, Jr.

Harold Ross, a newspaperman, started The New Yorker in February 1925.

Arnold Gingrich, David A. Smart and Bill Weintraub, sales and advertising men, started Esquire with the first issue's dateline, Autumn 1933.

James Russell Lowell, the famous poet, started the Atlantic in May 1857 with the help of fellow New England luminaries in Boston.

Newspapermen, salesmen and poets think differently and, so, contrast exists among these three magazines. Today, these differences appear in each magazine publisher's statement submitted to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) in Chicago.

Under "class, industry or field served," the Atlantic's statement is "Politics, Current Events, Literature, Science and Art." In the one-hundredth anniversary issue, Edward Weeks, the editor of the Atlantic between 1938 and 1966, said (in Lowell's words) that an editor's job is "to concentrate the efforts of the best writers upon literature and politics, under the light of the highest morals."

Esquire's Audit Bureau of Circulations statement is "The entire range of masculine interests." Before the printing of Esquire's first issue, Gingrich was writing promotional material. "The New Deal has given leisure a new economic significance . . . ." he wrote, refining the editorial concept. "Men have had leisure thrust upon them. Now they've got it, they must spend it somehow. What more opportune occasion for the appearance of a new magazine . . . . one that will answer the question of what to do, what to eat, what to drink, what to wear, how to play, what to read . . . ."[1]

The New Yorker's Audit Bureau of Circulations statement says, "A weekly journal of humor, fiction, fact, and satire in drawings and text." The 550-word original announcement of its inception and editorial policy begins. "The New Yorker will be a reflection in word and picture of metropolitan life. It will be what is commonly called sophisticated, in that it will assume a reasonable degree of enlightenment on the part of its readers. It will hate bunk."

Through the years, these three editorial philosophies have changed as society has, and they have changed as new editors, publishers and their staffs have come and gone. Since 1955 Esquire has changed the most; the Atlantic, the least, it appears, and The New Yorker falls somewhere in between.

Arnold Gingrich left Esquire in 1945 but returned in 1952. He saw income and education levels rising in post-war America. He "pushed the two most logical (editorial) buttons" to shape the magazine--fashion and youth. In 1956 he hired Harold T. P. Hayes, a North Carolinian who assumed the editorship in 1963. Gingrich also planted the idea of new journalism for Esquire when he sent Norman Mailer to cover the political conventions of 1960. "Superman Comes to the Supermarket" was the result.

All through the social upheaval of the 1960's, according to Jeff Norman, Playboy articles editor, Esquire forecast events with an uncanny accuracy. The kudos go to Hayes. He persuaded Gingrich to solve their dull-cover problem by hiring George Lois, "one of the adman inventors of the Volkswagen campaign."[2] The covers sat up and begged for attention.

Instead of depending on story ideas submitted by writers, Hayes made his staff think up more ideas which he assigned to writers of his own chocice. He hired fiction writers to cover news events--Mailer, Jean Genet and Terry Southern, among others. This was Esquire's "new journalism" in full bloom.

To the dismay of advertisers, Hayes printed many stories on Viet Nam, including a series by John Sack on Lt. William Calley.

Unfortunately, when Hayes was tapped in April 1973 to succeed Gingrich as publisher, Hayes quit rather than lose control of the editorial reins. He refused to be "kicked upstairs."

Gingrich was disappointed because he had groomed the new editor from the start, but executive editor Don Erickson assumed Hayes' position in mid-1973.

At the Atlantic one orderly change of editors has occurred since 1955. After 28 years as editor, Edward Weeks ceded the job to Robert Manning in 1966. Both men are Harvard alumni and steeped in the Atlantic tradition of serious literature and erudition. The change was more a matter of new blood and new energies than different personalities.

In a speech in 1967 to the Magazine Publishers Association, Weeks referred to his youth with a Dylan Thomas phrase, "When I was a windy boy." "Windy" meant harvesting wheat in Kansas, working for the Harvard Lampoon, and in it parodying the Atlantic and working his way to England on a cattle boat from Canada to Scotland. He was going to Cambridge for graduate study.

After his schooling, "windy" youth, and some bookselling in New York, he went into magazines. He became "first reader" at the Atlantic in 1924, hired personally by the Editor, Ellery Sedgwick.[3]

This is the man who ran the Atlantic until 1966. He is a man fond of quoting James Russell Lowell. He wrote a book about the Lowell family and the outstanding men it has produced. In a sense, Weeks grew up in and was shaped by the Atlantic from 1924 until 1938, 14 years later when he assumed the editorship. A total of 42 years at the Atlantic is a long time.

A somewhat impatient man and a journalist of wide experience, Robert Manning became editor of the Atlantic after serving as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. He had also held jobs as "a senior editor at Time, Sunday editor of the old New York Herald Tribune, and as a reporter for United Press, Associated Press and his home town Binghamton (N.Y.) Press."

One of his early comments at the Atlantic was "having a beautiful tool without any cutting edge"[4] can be dangerous.

Since Manning took over, the Atlantic has changed--but carefully so, the same way Weeks chose Manning as his successor. Time reported in 1966 that Weeks scouted the then 46-year-old Manning for the job 20 years, ever since the young man had left Harvard as a Neiman Fellow.

After Manning had been editor four years, Time noted that the Atlantic had become "less genteel and more aggressive."

The lengendary Harold Ross, the founding editor of The New Yorker had a particularly "windy" life. When he died in 1951 of cancer, some people cried and some probably said, "Thank God." He was that kind of man, fiercely hated and loved. In 1957, Edward Weeks remembered Ross as "the most original journalist of our time . . . ." He was not only original but colorful: when a friend died, Ross said in farewell, "Well, God bless you, McNulty, goddam it."[5]

Born in Aspen, Colorado, Ross got his first job as a reporter at 14 on the Salt Lake City Tribune. In the years that followed he traveled throughout the United States, reporting news for papers from Atlanta to San Francisco. He edited Stars and Stripes in Europe during the war.

Ross edited several magazines around New York City before he met Raoul H. Fleischmann, a wealthy, but bored wholesale baker from the famous Fleischmann yeast family. The Fleischmann money supported The New Yorker four years until it began to turn a profit.

After Ross, by some known as a barbarian, a Philistine or hick, William Shawn was quite a change. E. B. White, a long-time member of The New Yorker editorial staff, said that Ross was a belly-laugher and Shawn laughed with his mind. That was the difference.

A Chicagoan, Shawn briefly attended the University of Michigan, did newspaper work in New Mexico, then joined The New Yorker as a "Talk of the Town" reporter in 1933. Ross wanted him as his successor almost from the start. "To him (Shawn), it was like entering the priesthood," according to an old New Yorker hand.

Since the early 1950's, Shawn has maintained the Ross tradition, but a trend toward seriousness and political activism has grown in response to Viet Nam and the social turmoil of the 1960's. This trend is Shawn at work. The first evidence of his strong social conscience surfaced before he became editor. He convinced the skeptical Ross to devote an entire issue to John Hersey's report on Hiroshima.[6]

Shawn is notoriously shy. He has never spoken in public as the editor of The New Yorker. Tom Wolfe, one of the "new journalists," attacked him and the magazine in 1965. Wolfe accused Shawn of being a "whispering museum custodian."[7] Time felt Wolfe's satiric style, normally focused on the pop-culture heroes, was "overkill" and "misapplied" to the editor.

The point is that Shawn is an unusual man, loved by some people and mocked by others; he is similar to Ross because both men inspired violently different reactions in other people. In the dedication to "Franny and Zooey," J. B. Salinger refers to Shawn as the "most unreasonably modest of born great artist-editors."[8]

This year William Shawn is 68 years old. "The yak around the office," said one Chicago adman recently, "is who will replace him" The salesman quickly pointed out that no mandatory retirement age exists for a New Yorker editor but that some people believe Roger Angell will get the nod. Angell writes on sports and authored the popular book "Summer Game." He also edits mose of the humorous fiction submissions.

* * *

Comparing the three magazines' editorial content, a few strong first impressions emerge: Because The New Yorker is a weekly and averages roughly 100 pages each issue, it produces the most editorial material on a monthly basis. In total average length, counting ads and editorial content. The New Yorker produces about 400 pages each month. Esquire's total pages, for discussion purposes, can be rounded to 200 per month. And the Atlantic's total of monthly pages hovers around 125.

In terms of variety of departments, range of moods among feature articles and overall breadth of reading experience in any one issue, *Esquire* ranks first among these three magazines. The editorial goal appears to be entertainment first and good information if the reader cares to absorb it.

For depth of reading experience (some might say literary or reporting quality), *The New Yorker* and the *Atlantic* share certain traits but differ at the same time.

In a sense, the strong points of these two magazines are also their weak points. The *Atlantic* and *The New Yorker* have become prestigious in their own way to the point that entertainment value is often only recognized by intellectuals, or by those who would strive to create for themselves the aura of "intellectual." Both magazines de-emphasize graphics. Both feature biographies, short stories and social and political analyses.

Of course, as a weekly, *The New Yorker* is much more up-to-the-moment than the monthly *Atlantic*. The weekly's departments cover the cinema, music, the race track, Washington and books (long and short reviews).

The *Atlantic*'s departments confine themselves to a more traditional slow-moving culture. "Reports and Comment" deals with the economic and political. "Life and Letters," as the title implies, is most often some blend of social commentary and book reviews. Many of the departments and the book reviews in the *Atlantic* are written by older contributors, or at least it seems that way. Occasionally, a young *Atlantic* reader finds himself vicariously experiencing the *deja vu* of the older contributors.

Esquire is also an intellectual magazine, but somehow not quite as self-consciously so. Gingrich wrote on his "Publisher's Page" in November 1965, "As long ago as June 1935, in an article prophetically entitled 'Exit the Book,' by e.e. cummings, *Esquire* began to chart its course on the assumption that the future trend of the general I.Q. would be up and not down . . . ."

Early in the 1960's, to develop depth, *Esquire* created the "editorial explosion in its supplement," which "expands the ramifications of a given topic for all that's in it . . . ."[9] The September 1974 issue's supplement, for instance, consists of a series of seven articles on college life--food, the men at Vassar. dogs on campus, college as a dumb investment, etc.

In 1958, *Esquire* established its annual Literary Symposium, undoubtedly as a public relations device but also to attract talented young writers. The symposia have proved popular ever since. They have been held at major university creative writing centers: Columbia, Iowa, Stanford, California, Chapel Hill, Princeton and Michigan. Some of the well-known authors featured have included James Baldwin, Saul Bellow, Ralph Ellison, Norman Mailer, Philip Roth and Gore Vidal.

On subject matter, Gingrich said his magazine tries to "hit the literary ball on the upbounce. It does not play safe."[10] Gingrich cited Leon Uris, Herman Wouk, James Michener, J. D. Salinger and Joseph Heller as authors whose works appeared in *Esquire* before their names became well-known paperback book sellers.

The "regular features include . . . book reviews by Malcolm Muggeridge, Macdonald, and a music column by Martin Mayer."[11]

"Every month, at least one *Esquire* article snipes at a sacred cow . . . ."[12] In 1953, in somewhat underhanded humor, an article appeared entitled "Let's Secede from Texas." The article described Texas as a "geographical hemorroid," and Texans screamed in protest, but, after copies sold out on newsstands, they were willing to pay up to $3 for a copy of that issue. Two satiric titles in 1967 were "The Holy Kennedys" and "The Late General MacArthur, Warts and All."

Through the 1960's a free-wheeling editorial spirit dominated Esquire under Hayes' leadership. Hayes' group of writers in 1964 included Norman Mailer, Dwight MacDonald, Dorothy Parker, Jack Richardson, Terry Southern, Gay Talese and some others. Mailer, who wrote an Esquire column 1963-64, said in the latter year, "I can say more in Esquire than in any other magazine."[13]

Gingrich and Hayes always agreed that little editing of good writing is best.

Despite Esquire's man-about-town sophistication, it has always covered sports well; even from the first issue which featured Bobby Jones on golf, Gene Tunney and Benny Leonard on boxing, Charlie Paddock on track and Ernest Hemingway on big-game fishing.[14]

The big Esquire editorial change for the 1970's will be a new emphasis on service features. For the man who wants to buy the perfect steak and cook it himself, an Esquire service feature will have the answer, Gingrich said. Tax shelters, the nutritive values of yogurt, buying good wines and cigars, buying the best gifts for friends--these are the types of things that will be discussed more often and in more detail.

But service features may only last a short while. Gingrich said Esquire has no ax to grind, no editorial commitment other than to change.

To what extent The New Yorker is changing is another story, intricately tied up with the way it sees itself and the social role it has to play. Editor Shawn is well aware that the magazine has evolved a unique power and influence among certain circles of decision makers in academia, politics and the mass media.

Charles Kadushin, Ph.D., Columbia University, wrote a book "The American Intellectual Elite, based on research done in the late 1960's. One of the book's charts (captioned "The 'Trickle-Down' Effect: Magazines Read by Elites in Mass Media and Other Fields"), showed that The New Yorker was read at least occasionally by 86 per cent of the mass media leaders (editors, broadcasters, writers, etc.).

If Shawn makes his editorial policy shifts in a slow and considered manner, it is probably because he is thinking of all those "special" readers. Any editorial stance The New Yorker takes can have dramatic spinoff effects.

A case in point is the Viet Nam War. The New Yorker called the war "trivialized," "a cause we are no longer willing to die for." A Kadushin chart ranked The New Yorker number one under "Journals Most Often Mentioned as Influencing Thinking on Viet Nam (83 respondents)." The United States withdrew from Viet Nam and The New Yorker played a part in encouraging this decision; exactly how large or small a part, no one will ever know.

This Viet Nam stance is one of many examples of the new polemical politics at the magazine which led Newsweek in 1970 to say it was becoming the new Ramparts of management.

This editorial change from a "weekly journal of humor, fiction, fact and satire," a tone which pervaded the magazine from 1925 through the 1950's, was not deliberate, according to Shawn. The altered tone came "because authors were responding to the crises of the times and the editors were sympathetic."[15]

Aside from the Hiroshima issue, The New Yorker's activism can be traced to May 16, 1959. In that issue E. B. White wrote, "Because the slaughter of the innocents continues, here and abroad, and the contamination of air, sea, and soil proceeds apace, The New Yorker will undertake to assemble bulletins tracing Man's progress in making the planet uninhabitable. This is Bulletin No. 1."[16]

After that and through the 1960's came long articles and book serializations on controversial issues: Rachel Carson's Silent Spring, James Baldwin's The Fire Next Time, (1959 and the early '60's)' then Charles Reich's The Greening of America, Richard Harris' indictment of the National Rifle Association, Daniel Lang's Casualties of War, an account of the rape and murder of a Vietnamese girl by four GI's (the late "60's). Then came Richard Goodwin's denunciation of Richard Nixon's "usurpation" of power in the 1970 Cambodian invasion, the most urgent New Yorker editorial stance of all.

These tough political stances of conspicuously putting The New Yorker name on the line demanded the best investigative journalism. Robert Stein, the editor of McCall's, wrote in Media Power an example of the quality reporting The New Yorker so often attracts. In 1968, Edward Jay Epstein wrote the definitive account of District Attornay Jim Garrison's activities related to President Kennedy's assassination. The article appeared in The New Yorker. Stein asked the managing editor of Time why his dozens of reporters failed to accomplish what Epstein did alone. The Time editor had no answer.

Perhaps this quality reporting is why The New Yorker has been called "a reporter's magazine." The writing in it is damned and lauded for various reasons as "polished." Reputedly, high-school English teachers use the magazine to teach their students composition.

Also, The New Yorker has always cared desparately about being right about its facts.[17] Seven people at The New Yorker do nothing except check facts. Harper's has one person to check names, dates, places and quotes. A copy editor at Playboy said an eight-person checking department was established in the 1960's patterned after the best fact-checkers in the business (The New Yorker).

On the other hand, plenty of criticism exists about The New Yorker's power, its brand of sophistication, style of writing and editorial attitudes. Joseph Wood Krutch wrote in Saturday Review in 1954 that "one sometimes gets . . . tired of admitting The New Yorker's virtues . . . ."

Krutch pointed out a bad aspect of the magazine's influence:

> It put fear of not being 'smart' into the hearts of people . . . . in every respect it has always been aware of the difference between the false chic and the true--which changes from moment to moment . . . . it has been astonishingly successful in never being caught with last year's hat. In fact . . . any hat it chose to wear became . . . the right one.[18]

Peddling sophistication was one complaint leveled in 1957 against The New Yorker by David Cort, a former Life editor. In The Nation he noted that selling sophistication had become the most profitable line in the magazine business. He discussed several magazines, Esquire included, but strongly criticized The New Yorker's humor and style as "fiendishness" and "psychiatric games." He said its humor had a theme of existential defeat as the only destiny for man.

Cort compared the cool humor in The New Yorker with the cruel satire appearing in Mad magazine, which was on the rise in the late 1950's.

Another writer in Saturday Review about the same time described The New Yorker style as "catty writing," designed to encourage readers to feel superior by laughing at weak story characters.

In an interview with a reporter from The Sunday Times of London in 1958, James Thurber lamented that ". . . since the mental weather of the 1920's there's been a definite decline into grimness." ". . . journalism classes . . . used to ask me, 'How old is Peter Arno? . . . now they ask me what I believe about the future of America."[19]

Phyllis McGinley said of The New Yorker in 1972, "Whereas I once read it cover to cover, now I read it like a tired businessman. It's no longer a funny magazine either. They seem to think they're witty and sophisticated, but they're not."[20]

Shawn agreed there is less humor but said he has found no young people in the '50's or '60's to replace the likes of Sally Benson, James Thurber, Ogden Nash and S. J. Perelman.

Whatever may be the good and bad qualities of The New Yorker, some of its editorial policies are just different. The Ross dictum that "writers are a dime a dozen" still controls editorial attitudes in that no one (neither writers nor editors) tries to capture a limelight position. The magazine comes first, which means that writers' names appear at the end of articles. No masthead has ever been printed. Only in the late 1960's was a cryptic table of contents begun. And, "No writer, editor or officer of the magazine is listed on the lobby directory of the National Association building on West 43rd Street."[21]

Exceptional, too, is the "separation of church and state" between The New Yorker's editorial and advertising operations. They "have different telephone numbers and are on different floors . . . ." "The last ad salesman to try linking parallels is supposed to have been a young man who was soliciting night club accounts and decided to have a chat with the magazine's night club editor. Ross threw him out. That was in 1927."[22]

Editorially the Atlantic also has an unusual relation to certain of its business operations--in this case, the publishing of books. Publishing the Atlantic magazine only constitutes one side of the business operation at the Atlantic Monthly Press. The Press publishes books jointly with Little, Brown and Co. of Boston.

To attract authors and novelists to publish their books with the Press, it offers serialization or book excerpts in the Atlantic magazine. Besides, Atlantic readers are book readers,[23] said Edward Weeks.

Quality books and a quality magazine going hand-in-hand to preserve important ideas that last through time is the Atlantic tradition. "This would be a magazine which, were it found in a cornerstone opened in 2007 A.D., would tell aur grandchildren what we were like."[24] Editor Weeks wrote those words in November, 1957, the magazine's one-hundredth anniversary issue.

To keep a magazine alive, one that concentrates on quality and not quantity of literary output, the editor must constantly scout the country for new talent. In Weeks' book In Friendly Candor he said he averaged 30,000 miles each year in this "quest."

The record shows, before 1955 and after, how successful the Atlantic has been in discovering and championing new authors, poets and essayists: Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Samuel Clemens, Kipling, Henry James, Robert Frost, Ernest Hemingway, John P. Marquand, Edwin O'Connor; and more recently: Saul Bellow, James Dickey, Lillian Hellman and James Watson ("The Double Helix").

The Atlantic is not afraid to be controversial. Long ago it met the issues of Darwin and Al Smith head on.

In 1973, the Atlantic published an article by R. J. Herrnstein of Harvard on people's intelligence quotients. The Atlantic editors judged that Herrnstein had used I.Q. statistics to present a prejudicial picture of Negroes and other races. The Atlantic ran the article but with an inflammatory introduction. The Herrnstein article and the Atlantic introduction keyed off a big round of debate in various magazines and among readers.

Publishing the Herrnstein article was a Robert Manning decision. Since 1966 Manning has striven to innovate within the framework of tradition.

With the new Atlantic editor, the magazine "has carried the first musings of Svetlana Alilluyeva after her defection . . . . Its pages also have offered . . . distinguished reportage on current affairs--the war in Viet Nam, Women's Liberation, reform in the universities, life in a black ghetto . . . ."[25]

* * *

Weeks said in 1957 that visually the Atlantic is not an illustrated magazine. But the large anniversary issue that year was designed by Gyorgy Kepes, professor of visual design at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1970, the first two-page foldout cover in the entire magazine's history appeared. The foldout was a bold Larry Rivers collage leading into an article on the U. S. Army. This foldout was a Manning product as is the current use of more white space and illustrations.

The New Yorker pays less attention to graphics than the Atlantic and far less than Esquire. "Inside, (there is) the unaltered gray format--no photos, no masthead, and only a cryptic index . . . ."[26] The New Yorker's only color is on its cover and among some of its advertising.

The New Yorker covers and cartoons are the magazine's calling cards. A Newsday article ruminated over the covers: "It's hard to define, but it's usually visually satisfying. It can have humor--not a gag . . . . It's more fanciful and mysterious than merely reflecting life."[27]

Lee Lorenz, art editor of The New Yorker, receives about 1,500 comic drawings each week from about 40 contract cartoonists and a few freelance artists.[28] He selects the best of these and visits Shawn once a week to jointly decide which ones will run in the magazine.

Besides the cartoons and covers, the only other artwork in the magazine is little black-and-white drawings to break up the long columns of type for eye relief.

The artwork that does appear in The New Yorker must be pretty good. The Nicholas Gallery in Manhattan sells "original New York cartoons for $250 and those 'old guard' covers for $850."[29]

Contrary to the Atlantic and The New Yorker, Esquire wanted fine graphics from the beginning. Gingrich said, "Frankly patterned after Fortune in layout and format . . . it (Esquire) was bound in hard covers like a book . . . ."[30]

Esquire dropped its gatefold pin-up in January, 1957. Playboy, with its emphasis on the sexy female, inspired this change, said Gingrich, because Esquire wanted to work "the other side of the street."

From 1962, when Harold Hayes hired George Lois as art director, Esquire covers became outrageous, "funny, irreverent and meaningful," according to Newsweek.

A professor of art history at Hunter College said of the December 1963 cover, "It is one of the greatest social statements of the plastic arts since Picasso's Guernica."[31]

That cover showed Sonny Liston, then heavyweight champion of the world, wearing a bright red Santa Claus hat glaring at the reader. Liston had recently been depicted in newspapers as remarkably tight with his money. He made a perfect Scrooge for Esquire's Christmas cover.

In the July 1965 issue, Esquire altered part of its format to resemble Modern Screen. The gaudy design accompanied an article on the fierce American business competition for the teenage dollar. According to a writer in America magazine, Esquire's use of format "underlined the adolescents not as persons but as a market."[32]

In addition to stylizing format and photography to editorial content, Esquire has featured artistic sports coverage. Esquire has run artwork by George Bellows on boxing and Peter Helck on motor racing. Gingrich remembered proudly in 1965 the series of gatefold paintings in Esquire that had been done on "Great Moments of Sport."

And, interestingly, a majority of the magazine's cartoons came out of Harlem in the 1930's. Gingrich said he uncovered a "mother lode of cartoons and gags that has never yet run out."

* * *

(a special consideration of fiction since 1955 with some correlations to circulation)

Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, Terry Southern and other "new journalists" spurred in the mid-1960's much talk about the decline of fiction in consumer magazines. In fact, the quantity of fiction published in the Atlantic, Esquire, and The New Yorker began to decline in the early 1950's. Among consumer magazines as a whole, the quantity of fiction published has gradually declined since the 1940's, the fading years of the "Lost Generation" writers.

Also, World War II accelerated the information explosion. Today, people skim periodicals and newspapers, somewhat frantically at times, trying to keep up with the pace of events. "Perhaps, in an anxiety-ridden age like ours, when certainties aren't easily come by--'this iron time of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears'--there is a peculiar reassurance in the factuality of the article."[33]

Rust Hills, fiction editor at Esquire, and Penney Hills compiled a fiction anthology in 1968. They wrote a forward to the book entitled "In Defense of Contemporary Fiction" They said many different things in defense. They admitted at one point that the quantity of fiction has declined but the quality, if anything, has improved.

The Hills said that the critics are ruining people's approach to fiction. The accomplishments of fiction in the 50's and '60's were "a collective achievement of dozens," they said, even if the 1960's fiction era had no figures who tower in quite the Hemingway or Faulkner way. The net effect of everything the Hills wrote was to make it clear that fiction, at least conventional fiction, has been declining in quantity.

Like Rust and Penney Hills, other lovers of fiction and fiction anthologists have written similar defenses since the mid-1950's.

Society's fabric has been changing so fast that, when people aren't trying to absorb facts, they are losing themselves in endless television fiction. To a certain extent, an argument could be made for a drain of talent from printed fiction into script writing for television and movies.

But literature is important. Historically, it has helped document the mood of any era. Today, relevant fiction can help people cope with the complicated events that churn around them. "The central forces at work in contemporary American society--industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization--all tend toward standardization and depersonalization of our lives."[34]

Since 1955 certain themes and subject matter have appeared in fiction, clearly reflecting the "real world" events of the past two decades. Favorite subjects have been the "non-hero," the disintegration of American small-town life, terror in the big city and supernatural stories presented as reality.

Martha Foley, an anthologist of short stories, has periodically complained that too much fiction concentrates on the simple subjects of quaint old people and innocent children. She said too often authors do not deal with the complex adult world. And too few love stories have been attempted, she said.

Edward Weeks recounted in 1967 some trends he had noticed in literature over the past several decades: fewer foreign authors, more women writers, more Freudian analysis, more openness about sex and less dialect.

Criticisms have been made of the last two decades' fiction that it has been too negative or introverted. However, for consumer magazines, William Abrahams made the most damning criticism of modern fiction in 1967.

> . . . it came about that . . . success-oriented magazines, kitchen-centered for women and bedroom-centered for men, committed themselves to a monthly cultural gesture, only to discover that first-rate writers will always be in short supply, nor are they likely to produce first-rate stories on demand, month after month. The solution resorted to was characteristic of the culture explosion: to promote a large number of second-raters to more imposing status--on to the very cover--and to palm off their stories as the real thing.[35]

The question at hand is to what extent the Atlantic, Esquire and The New Yorker have succumbed to second-raters. Or, put another way, which magazine has competed hardest since the mid-1950's for the best stories from the best writers?

Without counting stories and authors individually, it's hard to say. These three magazines have never had occasion to compare notes on fiction. They have not agreed to make claims in common qualified terms about quantity of fiction printed or noted authors published. Literary prizes are not very important to authors' reputations in America, according to Rust Hills.

But tracing prize-winning short stories to the magazines in which they appear presumably is one means of judging those publications. The more prize-winning stories a magazine publishes, the higher that magazine's standards for fiction are likely to be.

Arnold Gingrich said that Esquire has published 17 Nobel Prize laureates (at some time in their careers). Speaking of books, and perhaps of serialization in the Atlantic incidentally, the Atlantic Press boasts of printing one Nobel Prize winner (George Seferis) and nine Pulitzer Prize winners.[36] But it appears that the Atlantic may be confining its claims to the original publication of the prize-winning works. The New Yorker has not been inclined to claim a specific number of Nobel Prize or Pulitzer prize winners.

Rust Hills said, "In short fiction, inclusion in Martha Foley's Best American Short Stories or the . . . O. Henry Prize Stories is useful to a writer's reputation." Tracing these stories to the original magazines in which they appeared is another means of evaluating those publications.

Using these two anthologies as a method of judgment, it turns out that The New Yorker ranks first in quantity of good fiction published since 1956; the Atlantic, second and Esquire third. In these rankings, the three magazines' stories were culled from the two anthologies for every year from 1956 to 1972. The 1960 edition of the O'Henry stories was not available.

Between 1956 and 1972, The New Yorker had a total of 74 stories collected by both anthologies; the Atlantic 42 and Esquire, 33.

Every year the O'Henry Awards anthology assigns a first-, second- and third-prize winning story. Since 1956 (year 1960 unavailable), six first prizes have gone to New Yorker stories; four to the Atlantic's and none to Esquire's.

These statistics undoubtedly reflect the personal prejudices of the few people who compiled the anthologies. At best, only a qualified importance can be accorded these figures.

So far, the statistics show The New Yorker as the leader in fiction. It is only fair to remember that by weekly frequency it has the best odds of publishing quality fiction than does the Atlantic or Esquire. As an O'Henry Awards editor said, "The fact is that The New Yorker publishes vastly more short fiction than any other magazine in this country or England. . . ."[37]

> The New Yorker has doubtless done more to influence twentieth century American literature than any other force at work. Joyce and Hemingway and Faulkner pall

> beside it. Faulkner was a once-a-year emotional impact. The New Yorker arrived every week with its urbane short stories and . . . reporting . . . .

That was a critic's comment in 1964 when reviewing an A. J. Liebling book. Reviews of books written by New Yorker staff people invariably contain laudatory side remarks about the magazine.

On the other hand, The New Yorker receives a lion's share of criticism.

> ". . . (it) has published hundreds of magazines by good and bad writers alike, a long and dreary procession of self-consciously plotless sketches of people talking brightly or cynically in hamburger stands or cocktail lounges or subway trains, a series of smuggly sophisticated annoyingly oblique commentaries as unappetizing in their own way as is the trash of the big click magazines.[38]

Although The New Yorker continues to publish much fiction, it has allotted more additional space to non-fiction. In the 1959 edition of Writer's Market The New Yorker's statement of acceptance of manuscripts reads: "Uses fiction, both serious and light, from 1,200 to 5,000 words. Single factual pieces run from 4,000 to 5,000 words. Long fact pieces are usually staff written."

In 1973, the fiction limits were 1,000 to 6,000 words. The non-fiction limits had been expanded to 3,000 to 10,000 words. Thus, the magazine is editorially part of the trend toward comprehensive investigative journalism, despite its commitment to fiction.

At no point since 1956 does a correlation appear between New Yorker fiction or other editorial trends and circulation fluctuations. In its June 1956 publisher's statement, The New Yorker listed a total paid circulation of 415,423. In June 1974 the listed circulation was 486,917. In the years between 1956 and 1974, average circulation varied plus or minus 5,000 readers. Of the three magazines considered here, The New Yorker has had the most stable but the smallest increase in circulation over the past several decades.

The crunch for Atlantic fiction was officially noted in the magazine's 1961 statement to Writer's Market. In 1959, the statement had read: "Uses fiction and articles of a distinguished quality, up to about 5,000 words. Novels are published in 3 to 5 installments." In 1961, the Writer's Market listing had changed in two ways. A specific distinction between "new" and "established" writers was made and the words "serialization of novels" had been dropped for the "serialization of non-fiction."

In 1963, Atlantic's statement to Writer's Market fully reflected the magazine's new approach to fiction. It had added the following sentence: "Particularly interested in quality fiction by beginning writers, to be published under the heading 'Atlantic Firsts,' and paid for at the regular rate ($300 and up, on acceptance)." This emphasis on "fiction by beginning writers" has prevailed since.

Despite these "fiction first," Atlantic concurrently reducing its quantity of fiction. A Best American Short Stories anthologist wrote in 1960: "There now is a group of editors and magazine publishers who might be called 'nonfiction' or, perhaps, 'fiction-blind' men. . . Harper's and the Atlantic . . . once were bountiful in the number of fine short stories they offered their readers . . . ."[39]

Then four years later, the anthologist, Martha Foley, continued her lament.

> . . . what used to be called the 'quality' magazines, Harper's and the Atlantic have continued to narrow the space they give to fiction. Only a year or so ago no serious writer would have dreamed that magazines such as The Saturday Evening Post or The Ladies Home Journal would publish more and better fiction than the 'quality' magazines. But it has happened.[40]

A plausible explanation exists for why the Atlantic decided to solicit primarily new fiction. This same explanation answers a question posed previously: ". . . to what extent has the Atlantic succumbed to second-raters?"

The philosophy behind the magazine is literary quality that lasts. In this light, an observation by Wallace Stegner in 1960 indicates that the Atlantic was perhaps trying to protect itself against professional second-rate fiction writers: "There is a considerable body of fiction that is mass-produced with interchangeable parts, but that is very skillfully made, and for an audience that is sophisticated but not discriminating."[41]

The Atlantic publishes original fiction talent or exceptional professional talent, but the magazine is not really a large part of whatever remains of the fiction market today.

The budding fiction writer might do well to consider the "Atlantic Firsts" as much a convenience to the magazine as a favor to new writers. New writers are, without exception, inexpensive writers.

The December 1974 issue of the Atlantic is a good example of how the tables of contents of some consumer magazines misuse the term "fiction." "Happy" in the December issue is a narrative poem, not fiction, as listed in the table of contents. This practice indicates in a small way that editors want to keep the term "fiction" alive, even if they're not publishing much of the real thing.

Manuscript length requirements stated by the Atlantic for fiction and non-fiction in Writer's Market does not reflect the trend toward long investigative reporting, as in The New Yorker. In 1973, Atlantic nonfiction limits were 2,000 to 5,000 words. No length requirements were set for "Atlantic Firsts." Fiction by established writers was solicited at word limits of 2,700 to 7,500.

No patterns between the quantities of fiction the Atlantic has published and annual circulation figures have evolved.

In June 1956 the Atlantic's circulation was 213,310, according to its publisher's statement. In June 1974 the circulation was 344,932. The Atlantic has had a smaller circulation than The New Yorker since 1956 and before, but the Atlantic has gained 70,000. Esquire's circulation is two or three times larger than either of these magazine's. The Atlantic's circulation has fluctuated an approximate average of plus or minus 11,000 readers since 1956, twice the degree of The New Yorker's variance.

Whereas the Atlantic has never gained in circulation since 1956 more than three consecutive years without a loss, Esquire's circulation recorded its first loss in 1972. This loss of about 13,000 readers was the first since Arnold Gingrich returned to the magazine in 1952 after a seven-year absence.

At two points since the early 1950's some correlation appears between editorial content (including fiction of course) and circulation growth. The December 1956 publisher's statement records a 43,000 boost in circulation. This growth probably reflects Gingrich's return and his efforts to find quality writers for the magazine. During World War II David A. Smart had turned Esquire into a magazine with a minimum of reading matter. He was catering to the men in the war zones who had little ability to concentrate.

The next point was a phenomenal spurt of growth: 1964 and 1965 with 40,000 and 80,000 circulation increases respectively. These were the years when Harold Hayes made creative management decisions. Of course, George Lois' covers helped circulation but, undoubtedly, Hayes' group of writers, some of them fiction writers, made Esquire sell, especially to the college crowd.

That group of writers included young writers and old-timers--Norman Mailer, Dwight MacDonald, Dorothy Parker, Gore Vidal, Jack Richardson, Terry Southern, Gay Talese and others.

Esquire's circulation was 778,190 in 1956. It had gained one half million readers by June 1974. The average plus or minus circulation fluctuation has been 28,000, exclusively on the up sides, except for a 1972 loss.

It is interesting to note that, along with circulation growth, Esquire has allowed more space for fiction, at least as listed in Writer's Market. Requested manuscript length for fiction in 1959 was 2,500 to 3,500 words; in 1973, 1,000 to 6,000 words. Its upper limit for nonfiction has remained 5,000 words.

The "Big Fiction Decline" that so many New York Times book reviewers have mentioned so often is reflected in the Atlantic and in The New Yorker but not appreciably in Esquire. If the quantity of Esquire fiction has declined, it has only done so in a phase toward the new journalism.

For lovers of fiction, Martha Foley gives consolation: "Short stories have been with us since caveman days, when they were oral, and I believe they always will be. Even if the Bomb puts the few of us who may survive it back in the caves again."[42]

* * *

As business operations, the Atlantic and The New Yorker have confined themselves to publishing and a few small related activities. In strong contrast, Esquire management has developed its magazine into a diversified corporation of fourteen divisions and subsidiaries.

In 1974, as inflated paper, postal and production costs chop into publishing profits, Esquire should be able to handle cost difficulties with a broad range of solutions. The New Yorker and the Atlantic will bear the full brunt of whatever price squeezes occur in publishing.

The Atlantic magazine is privately owned by The Atlantic Monthly

Company. The publisher, Garth Hite, an ex-Curtis Publishing Company vice president, has also been publisher of Holiday and The New Republic.

The business philosophy of the company "is to house both a quality magazine and a selective book publishing program under the same roof."[43] Many editors work on both book manuscripts as well as on the magazine.

The Atlantic has a reputation of turning moderate profits. Given the temper of modern society, a commitment to publish quality literature limits profits from the start. In 1973, the Publisher's Information Bureau (PIB) listed the Atlantic magazine's total ad volume as 556.38 pages; total ad revenues were $2,449,121. Esquire's revenues in 1973 were seven times as much; The New Yorker's, nine times as much.

The Atlantic and Harper's have an arrangement whereby the same business offices sell advertising in both magazines. Ninety per cent of the advertisers who wish to use one of these magazines eventually advertise in both at a 10 per cent discount.

Until the past few years, The New Yorker has rarely worried about advertising. According to PIB, it carried 3,883.18 pages of advertising in 1973. The annual report last year said that was the sixteenth consecutive year The New Yorker had carried more advertising pages than any other consumer magazine.

As a weekly, The New Yorker has a tremendous advantage over the Atlantic and Esquire or over any monthly. Presently, with the economy unsure of itself, advertisers do not want to commit themselves to ad space in the monthlies whose closing dates are three months in advance. For many years, this has been a problem for monthlies in a tight economy.

PIB listed 8 to 16 per cent gains in total 1973 ad revenues for all three magazines. However, in the first nine months of 1974, after rising oil prices accelerated inflation, total ad revenues had fallen 6 per cent at Esquire and 11 per cent at the Atlantic. The New Yorker continued to gain ad revenue--at 12 per cent.

The New Yorker's 1973 net income was $1,296,296, a 21 per cent increase over 1972. The New Yorker Magazine, Inc. wholly owns two subsidiaries, American Collegiate Marketing Enterprises Corp. and Boulder Enterprise, Inc. According to the annual report, the former sells New Yorker magazine subscriptions and the latter prints business forms.

The New Yorker Company has primarily confined itself to publishing the magazine. Although this makes the business more vulnerable in shaky economic times, it is probably what Ross would have liked. Raoul H. Fleischmann, who financed the magazine's start, always gave Ross a free hand. Peter F. Fleischmann, his son, is now chairman and president of the company.

Advertising salesmen Gingrich, Smart and Weintraub had a free hand to run Esquire as they wished from its beginning. Because of their common backgrounds, they knew what the editor had to do but they all had an appreciation of sound business techniques.

Those sound techniques have been paying off ever since. The 14-division Esquire, Inc. earned $3,351,506 for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1974. The net worth of the corporation has risen from roughly $7 million in 1965 to over $25 million in 1974.

Esquire, Inc. subsidiaries consist of a "publishing-leisure group," an "education group" and a "lighting group." As a whole, they produce a wide array of products: magazines, collectors' display coins, fishing gear, binoculars, inflatable boats, direct mail marketing services, motion picture film, textbooks, audio-visual learning aids, chandeliers, bulbs, precision die castings in aluminum and zinc, etc.

The Esquire annual report does not give a breakdown of its magazine publishing subsidiaries. But in a 1974 letter to the stockholders, John Smart cited a 10 per cent gain in sales over 1973 by the publishing-leisure group, which includes Esquire as one of five companies. He laments the "virtual loss of 'big car' advertising during the energy crisis."

Esquire, the Atlantic and The New Yorker are all predominatly metropolitan magazines with nationwide circulations. They each have at least 80 per cent of their circulation in metro central cities or in metro suburban areas. Edward Weeks once expressed his satisfaction that the Atlantic had more subscribers in California in 1957 than anywhere else.

The New Yorker abolished its New York regional edition in May 1960. Today, only 21 per cent of The New Yorker's circulation is in the Greater New York area.[44]

Newsstand sales currently average about 11 per cent for The New Yorker and 12 per cent for the Atlantic. Esquire's newsstand sales are somewhat higher.

The New Yorker is unique among all magazines in the way it has traditionally made no effort to advertise itself or build circulation with promotional gimmicks.

Subscribers must pay a full masthead price in advance. When a reader's subscription is about to run out, he gets a few letter reminders but not one extra magazine if renewal money is not forthcoming.

Hoyt (Pete) Spelman is public relations director for The New Yorker. He said his department discovered in 1970 that advertising people had dated impressions of the magazine.[45] Immediately, for the first time in 31 years, an advertising campaign was launched to inform the public of what the magazine is really like.

The three magazines also share approximate audience characteristics. The median age of the Esquire reader was 42 until Harold Hayes began to alter the magazine's tone in the early 1960's. In 1974, Esquire statistics claim the median age is 33. Today, the Atlantic claims 36 as the median age of its readers; The New Yorker, a median age of 37 in 1971.

Esquire and the Atlantic estimate 43 to 54 per cent of their readers have income of $15,000 or more. New Yorker statistics claim 54 per cent of its subscriber households average a gross income of almost $29,000.[46]

The New Yorker is by far the most selective of the three magazines as to the kinds of advertising it will accept. A Chicago-based New Yorker ad salesman said, "We're protective or our readers' sensitivities and money. While we don't put a Good Housekeeping seal on everything we advertise, we work that way."

Right after the Surgeon General announced that cigarette smoking is dangerous to people's health, The New Yorker refused further ads from tobacco companies. ". . . whole categories of ads are barred from The New Yorker's pages, including ads for vitamin tablets, slimming devices, and depilatories. Liquor advertising is limited to 16 per cent of total paid space, and models in ads for foundation garments must be decorously clothed.[48]

Advertisers like The New Yorker because their color ads receive no competition for attention from the routine black-and-white editorial format.

In 1973, for example, The New Yorker ran 801 pages of retail advertising, according to PIB. House Beautiful, the next largest retail advertiser, listed only 341 pages.

In virtually every advertising category in which The New Yorker accepts ads, it carries more pages than Esquire or the Atlantic. For liquor ad volumes in 1973, the Atlantic (combined with Harper's figures) listed 229 pages; Esquire, 290½; The New Yorker, 479.

The top advertisers in the Atlantic (listed largest to smallest) are alcoholic beverages; business, corporations, financial and insurance; publishing; and travel.

The top advertisers in Esquire, largest to smallest, are alcoholic beverages, autos, apparel, and tobacco, pipes and cigars.

In all three magazines advertising volumes and/or circulations tended to peak in the mid-1960's but have run generally downhill since, with small periodic recoveries. In 1974, ad volumes are increasing at The New Yorker, but are off at both the monthlies.

Times are tough in publishing magazines. As a Chicago Atlantic-Harper's ad salesman said recently, "A guy just can't lean back, stuff his pipe and chew the fat these days."

NOTES

[1] Arnold Gingrich, Nothing But People, 1971.

[2] Time, July 14, 1967.

[3] Edward Weeks, In Friendly Candor, 1946.

[4] Time, October 12, 1970.

[5] Newsweek, November 4, 1957.

[6] Time, May 1, 1972.

[7] Time, April 16, 1965.

[8] Newsweek, March 1, 1965.

[9] Esquire, November, 1965.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Publisher's Weekly, October 19, 1970.

[12] Time, July 14, 1967.

[13] Newsweek, March 30, 1964.

[14] Esquire, October 1965.

[15] Time, May 1, 1972.

[16] The Boston Globe, April 24, 1970.

[17] Judith Adler Hennessee, "Annals of Checking," More, August 1974.

[18] Saturday Review, January 30, 1954.

[19] The New Republic, May 26, 1958.

[20] Time, May 1, 1972.

[21] Newsweek, March 1, 1965.

[22] Viewpoint, 1974.

[23] Publisher's Weekly, October 16, 1967.

[24] Atlantic, November 1957.

[25] Time, October 12, 1970.

[26] Newsweek, March 1, 1965.

[27] Newsday, May 23, 1974.

[28] Viewpoint, 1974.

[29] Newsday, May 23, 1974.

[30] Esquire, October 1963.

[31] Newsweek, December 16, 1963.

[32] America, July 17, 1965.

[33] William Abrahams, ed., Prize Stories, The O'Henry Awards, 1967.

[34] L. Rust Hills and Penney Chaplin Hills, ed., How We Live . . . Contemporary Life in Contemporary Fiction, 1968.

[35] Abrahams.

[36] Publisher's Weekly, October 16, 1967.

[37] Abrahams.

[38] Saturday Review, April 11, 1953.

[39] Martha Foley, ed., Best American Short Stories, 1960.

[40] Martha Foley, ed., Best American Short Stories, 1964.

[41] Mary Stegner, ed., Prize Stories, The O'Henry Awards, 1960.

[42] Martha Foley, ed., Best American Short Stories, 1968.

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[44] Viewpoint, 1974.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Newsweek, March 1, 1965.

Men's Entertainment Magazines:
Oui, Penthouse, Playboy

Whayne Dillehay

The segment of the magazine industry which directs its editorial content primarily at the American male represents a very lucrative portion of the entire consumer magazine business. Of the masculine interest publications, it is the "men's entertainment magazine"[1] which has grown so extensively in the past two decades. Just as earlier eras in journalism this century brought forth Vanity Fair, The Saturday Evening Post, Life and other large circulation magazines, so the recent years have seen the proliferation of the men's entertainment magazine.

The purpose of this study will be to look at the portion of the magazine industry which is directed specifically at a male audience. The primary focus will be on the entertainment publications,[2] including a detailed analysis of the "Big Three;" Penthouse, Playboy and Oui. These magazines will be compared to each other, to competing entertainment magazines and to the men's field as a whole. Finally, the survey will look at the future of male-oriented journalism in the context of the entire publication industry.

While the demise of Life and Look may well have signalled an end to the mass-circulation magazine, the record setting sales of Playboy and recently, of Penthouse, seem destined to prove that large circulation success is more than just a memory. As an industry, men's entertainment magazines, colloquially referred to as "b and b books" (for breast and buttocks),[3] account for more than 25 per cent of this country's magazine newsstand sales.

In addition to the entertainment genre, other male-oriented publications dealing with action-feature, hobby, mechanical, and sporting interests share a sizeable portion of the entire market. This group runs parallel to Playboy, Penthouse and Oui, but shares relatively few of the same readers. Essentially, all the male-oriented publications are part of a single group.

Although commercial exploitation through photography of the female anatomy is nothing peculiar to this century alone, the use of legitimate periodical media to do it is. Esquire was one of the early successes in the men's field when it came out during the Depression. To a limited extent and for a short period of time, Esquire directed some of its editorial content into the "girly picture" vein.[4] By the time Hugh Hefner brought out Playboy in the early 1950's, Esquire's editorial policies had moved away from the prurient interests, leaving the field wide open. The immediate success of Playboy[5] startled the publishing world, and inspired attempts by other magazines to claim a piece of the action. Following on Playboy's coattails were such names as Caper, Rogue, Nugget, Escapade, Cabaret, Duke, and others, all of which have since disappeared.

From 1953 to 1970, Hefner was substantially unchallenged with his successful entertainment package and enjoyed economic success. Recently, however, American-bOrn Bob Guccione has challenged Playboy with some very virile competition in the form of his own publication, Penthouse. For four and a half years, Penthouse enjoyed limited success in England but in the five years it has operated in this country, more than a few tremors have been felt in Playboy's Chicago headquarters.

Competitively, there are certain to be changes within the men's entertainment field in the next few years, but the lucrative trend is likely to continue. In 1973, there were 27.7 million males in the U.S. between the ages of 18 and 34.[6] This is the group from which two-thirds of entertainment magazine readers are derived.[7] Estimates put the figure at 34.3 million by 1983. This group continues to have an above-average median income which is sure to retain the interest of advertisers.

In order to assess the trends in this segment of the men's magazine field, we will look at Playboy, Penthouse, and Oui individually. Each of these will be discussed in terms of editorial concept, content, readership, circulation, and advertising. Following this, a brief summary of similar publications will be made and finally the entire industry will be discussed.

Playboy

For the past 21 years, Playboy has cornered the men's magazine market. It has long enjoyed a growing circulation figure which currently exceeds six million, ranking it among the highest in the country. Playboy's editorial concept is reflected in the publication's own "philosophy," which is the moral tone behind every issue. The magazine states simply that it is "entertainment for men."[8] The Twentieth Anniversary Issue summed up Playboy's reason for existence by declaring that "not coercing or injuring others is, we believe, essential to a free society. Beyond that minimum, we view morality as an individual matter, a highly personal belief in what is right and wrong."[9]

Evidently Playboy's sense of right and wrong has kept carefully in tune with that of its readers. The magazine has long been known for its revealing centerfolds, beginning with Marilyn Monroe in the first issue.[10] Along with other nudes, there is a mixture of features and articles by some of the best writers and journalists. The theory originated in the attempt to make what was essentially a skin magazine respectable enough to be purchased by the middle class male.[11]

The editorial policy of Playboy can be traced to 48-year-old founder, editor, and publisher, Hugh Marston Hefner. In 1952, he quit his low-echelon position with Esquire when the editorial staff failed to move the magazine into the skin trade. Borrowing $500 on his furniture, $300 from a bank, and $12,000 from friends and relatives, he edited the first issue of Playboy on the kitchen table of his South Side Chicago flat. All 125,000 copies sold within the first few days they appeared on the newsstands.

It is remarkable how little the magazine has changed over the years. Except for an increase in over-all length,[12] and the addition of several new departments, the only real changes have been refinements. The moral tone has been adjusted to keep one step ahead of the times and consequently has frequently been the center of controversy. The ease with which the unique magazine has flowed through virtually uncharted waters has made its emergence, in the words of one writer, "a major pop-cultural event."[13]

The philosophy expounded in the pages of the magazine is essentially a product of Hefner himself. "My taste in women," he says, "isn't exactly a personal aberration; it happens to be shared with some 26 million

Playboy readers."[14] In their own editorial profile, the editorial staff describes their product as "a magazine of entertainment--offering fiction, serious and satirical articles, cartoon, and picture stories of pretty girls."[15]

Hefner defined the importance of his magazine when he said "If you think about the good things you can acquire with the proper application of materialism, of money, if you think of the romantic sort of images that are sexually and romantically linked to Playboy, you get very close to some of the key motivations for men in our society."[16]

Demographic studies of Playboy's readers[17] seem to bear this out. Of an estimated readership exceeding 15 million, over three-quarters of the group are men with a median age of 30 and a median annual income exceeding $9,000. Approximately one-third are college graduates and three-fourths reside in a metropolitan area. Most of the readers (75 per cent) are married.

Few significant shifts have occurred in the editorial substance of Playboy since its inception. Each issue continues to feature a nude "playmate" stretched out over a three-page foldout and photographed in such a retouched state that there is rarely so much as a mole appearing on the model's perfect skin. Since 1970, these torso shots have included pubic hair and are therefore more explicit than they used to be.

Graphically, Playboy has long been considered to be among the best.[18] It has been very innovative in the layout of the individual issues and has frequently made use of striking graphic illustrations as well as colored inks and contrasting paper stocks. Much of the press work is done by letterpress so the reproduction of the photographs is generally of a very high quality. The December 1974 issue carried a photographic feature, arranged and posed by Salvador Dali, as well as unusual use of heavy paper stocks to introduce the major features. The average length of an issue of Playboy varies between 200 and 250 pages.

The writing in Playboy includes articles by well-known authors such as Arthur C. Clarke, Gary Wills, Norman Mailer and others. Some work by previously unpublished authors is also carried. The Playboy interview, a frequently carried feature, centers on personalities handpicked by Hefner himself. The other regular sections of the magazine are the cartoons, "party jokes," movie reviews, and of course, the dominating features on the nude young women. These sections present the magazine's philosophy, which like the times, is becoming less inhibited. Indeed, there is very little the magazine has not dealt with at one time or another. According to one journalist's report, there may be nothing which is too touchy for the magazine to cover. The writer observed that Playboy is "paradoxically inhibited by its own libertinism. When, in a survey of current porn films, contributing editor Bruce Williamson tried to put his foot down, there was nowhere to put it."[19]

The Supreme Court's 1973 obscenity ruling occasioned an urgent meeting with the top editorial staff during which the effect of the new law on the future sales of Playboy was debated.[20] Shortly after the ruling a spokesman for the magazine announced that certain editorial changes, "editorial adjustments, especially in the photography" would be made in an attempt to conform to the new ruling.[21] So far, it is not entirely clear where these changes have been made.

Throughout the two decades of its existence, Playboy has frequently been attacked for the nature of the photographs of women, particularly by members of the clergy and other conservative groups. Recently, however, the sharpest criticism has come from feminists and other women's groups.[22] The criticism has not been confined to this country alone. When an Israeli official announced plans to distribute copies of Playboy to front line troops during the 1973 Middle East War, rabbis protested the move and charged the publication with "cheapening women's dignity," effectively preventing the move.[23]

If any new trends are developing in Playboy at all, they seem to be manifested in the movement towards a "How To . . ." magazine. Slightly different than other magazines which provide information on car repair, or gardening, Playboy will demonstrate how to live the "good-life." In the December 1974 issue, the editors pointed out that the magazine "will give you hours of pleasure if you simply follow the easy-to-read instructions, in this, your owner's manual."[24]

The newsstand price of Playboy was raised from $1.00 per copy to $1.25 in June 1974. The larger holiday issues in December and January formerly sold for $1.50 and now go for $1.75. Playboy explains the price increased by pointing to the recent increases in the cost of paper and postage rates. Current subscription rates of $10 for one year have not risen. Playboy offers no subscription discounts and has no arrears.[25]

The publication's circulation[26] has risen 35 times what it was in 1954, bringing the current figure to 6,426,885. Copies sold through subscriptions account for 1.5 million of that figure. Eight separate advertising editions are published for each issue, along with four metropolitan editions. Three separate editions are sold abroad including the overseas military issues (112,574) and the U. K. edition (99,425). Circulation figure suffered its first significant decline in 1974. In the 12 month period from June 1973 to June 1974, total average circulation fell 240,000. Despite this setback, there has been no change in the advertising rate base so far, and ad revenues continue to increase.[27] In 1973, Playboy carried 983 pages of advertising (up 6 per cent from the previous year) and advertising revenues totaled $42 million (up 12 per cent). Profits in 1973 were $14.2 million, down from a record $22 million in 1972.

A page of four-color advertising costs $42,950. In 1973, the leading advertisers were the liquor industry (191.28 pages in 1973), the auto industry (114.06 pages), toiletries (78.11) and apparel (69.72). Consumer services, travel industries, and food accounted for an additional 77.47 pages.

Penthouse

Penthouse came to the United States from England, where Brooklyn-born publisher Bob Guccione, 42, had led the magazine's success there for four years. Once in the U.S., Guccione's first priority was to compete with Playboy. He immediately moved ahead of Playboy in terms of explicitness in the photographs. Penthouse nudes were shown in more "earthy" poses and frequently fondled themselves. Penthouse began carrying letters supposedly from readers which treated subjects never before seen in legitimate print.

Penthouse claims to be a "total editorial package for a total human being."[28] It further describes its editorial concept as "pictures without the lectures, pin-ups without the hang-ups." For persons in doubt about what the magazine is seeking to do, Penthouse will show them a copy of a 1972 Daniel Yankelovich study[29] which shows that social attitudes towards sex are considerably more liberal than they used to be. That, of course, is what Penthouse is all about. Other promotional material maintains that the Forum section (a sampling of reader letters which have recently been published in magazine-form) "provides a therapeutic outlet for men" and claims that it has "been commended by doctors and psychiatrists who are aware of the importance of airing sexual hang-ups."[30]

Circulation has quickly grown since the publication arrived in this country. Nearly 90 per cent [31] of Penthouse readers are men with an age around 28, and a median annual income in excess of $7,500. One-half of the readers are single and three-quarters live in a metropolitan area.

There have been relatively few changes in the magazine's editorial concept in the past five years. As much as one-third of the editorial content in the U.S. edition is duplicated in the U.K. edition, including the advice column written by Xaviera Hollander, the ex-call girl who was involved in a recent scandal with two British government officials before she joined Penthouse. Her column responds to problems presented by readers on diverse topics, most of which ultimately revolve around sex.

Penthouse has carried articles and feature stories written by such well known writers as Isaac Asimov, Gore Vidal, Peter Benchley, and others. Generally, little fiction is carried. There is a trend underway to expand coverage of political issues by featuring more investigative reporting. Articles appearing in Penthouse have covered such topics as strip-mining, religious cults, amnesty, Timothy Leary and others. Recently, more in-depth reporting has centered on the failures of the press and the oil crisis. The editors are especially proud of the series of articles on the Vietnam War veteran. One of these articles was read into the Congressional Record.[32] Of its particular brand of journalism, Penthouse observed that "no one called it investigative reporting until recently; it was just fine, gutsy journalism and it stood the test of time."[33]

As well as covering contemporary issues, Penthouse has delved deeply into the different sides of sexual behavior, treating such subjects as teenage love, transsexuals, partner swapping, and the American sexual revolution. It has given special coverage in nearly every issue to monopedes (one-legged amputees) and the ways in which these unfortunate persons relate to sex. Penthouse photographs, many taken by Guccione himself, feature only women who have not previously been photographed in the nude, and Guccione insists on models who use their real names. Occasionally, nude males will appear along with the women.

There is ample evidence to indicate that Penthouse feels few inhibitions when dealing with sexual subjects. Photographs are shot from remarkably revealing angles, and the models often wear stockings, garter belts and other transparent forms of lingerie. The reproduction of the photographs is usually very good, due largely to the use of a heavy paper stock. Graphic illustrations are used sparingly and little in the way of unusual design is used.

Beginning with an initial printing of 150,000, circulation has risen dramatically and currently totals 3,809,164, only three per cent of which is sold through subscription.[34] During the first half of 1974, circulation increased 22 per cent. Midwest circulation director Jim Shanahan says there will probably not be any changes in the way Penthouse is sold--primarily through newsstand sales. He says, "we are doing just fine. We really don't need to play the subscription numbers game."[35]

Advertising revenues in 1973 totaled $8.8 million,[36] an increase of 87 per cent over the previous year. Profits increased 61 per cent in the same period. Total number of advertising pages has risen steadily, from 478 in 1972 to 575 in 1973. The advertising to editorial content ratio averages around 70 per cent editorial to 30 per cent ads. In 1973, the largest advertisers were the liquor industry (73 pages), toiletries (47 pages), and consumer services (36 pages). Clothing, autos, and travel services accounted for an additional 36 pages. A full page of four-color advertising in Penthouse sells for $24,175.

Oui

Oui is often referred to as Hefner's grandchild.[37] From the moment Playboy Enterprises, Inc. brought out the magazine in 1971, it became apparent that the magazine was going to take on a younger personality than Playboy. Along with Hefner, who is Oui's editor and publisher, is co-editor Jon Carrol, 28, formerly an editor with Rolling Stone. Hefner says that Oui is designed for young people of both sexes and "embraces eroticism without exploitation."[38] Much of the editorial content is patterned after the highly successful French Lui (circ. 500,000) published in Paris by Daniel Fillipacchi.

Oui's original press run of 800,000[39] indicated the high expectations for the magazine when it came out in the Spring of 1972. Until recently, the circulation had risen steadily, reaching a high of 1.75 million in 1973. In the first half of 1974, Oui missed its guaranteed rate base by 11.4 per cent, recording a figure down to 1,508,021. Subscription sales account for only 107,509 copies sold each issue. The newsstand price was forced up by paper and mailing costs from $1.00 to $1.25 in December 1974. Yearly subscriptions remained unchanged at $9.00.

The magazine's editorial content is a mixture of pictorial essays of beautiful women (Oui does not have the traditional three-page foldout) and feature articles excluding fiction. The topics covered in the editorial content range from an article on sexy men by Germain Greer to an interview with Fidel Castro. Regular departments include Openers, a summary of news-clips; Satellite, a selection of humor; and Revue, a rundown of current entertainment. Colorful illustrations and elaborate graphic design is heavily used.

Although few demographic statistics on the young publication exist, the total audience is estimated to be near 5 million.[40] Approximately 80 per cent of the readers are men, with a median age around 28 years. Because of the recent devaluation of the rate base, the cost of a full page of four-color is $11,900,[41] down from the original price of $14,800. Advertising revenue in fiscal 1974 was $3.6 million, up from $2.2 million in Oui's first year.

Other "Entertainment Magazines"

In addition to Playboy, Penthouse and Oui, the men's entertainment field is shared with numerous other publications, many of which are similar to the three already discussed in their editorial content, but which lack the high circulation figures.[42] All these publications feature nude women which has led to their classification under the entertainment heading.

Adam--Published by the Knight Publishing Co. in Los Angeles, this is one of the newest of the entertainment magazines. Single copies retail for $1.25.

Cavalier--Published by the Pugent Publishing Corp. in Coral Gables, Florida, this young magazine has a circulation of $183,032, of which 885 are subscription copies. Yearly subscriptions sell for $12.00 and the price is $1.00 on the newsstand. The editor explains that Cavalier reflects the interests of the generation of the sixties.

Complete Men's Group--This collection of four magazines is published by the Magazine Management Co. in New York and consists of For Men Only, Male, Men and Stag. The combined circulation is 938,935. These publications carry a small amount of photography with action-feature and masculine interest articles.

Gallery--Founded in 1971, Gallery is published in New York by the Brookbridge Publishing Corp. The circulation is guaranteed at 750,000 and single copies sell for $1.25.

Game--This new magazine is published by the Challenge Publishing Co. in Canoga Park, California. Single copies sell for $1.50 on the newsstand.

Genesis--Genesis has been published in New York since 1970. Circulation is 352,570 with newsstand copies selling for $1.25. This magazine frequently carries articles of interest to the young male dealing with issues such as car theft and sports.

Hustler--One of the most recent to hit the newsstand, Hustler is published in Columbus, Ohio. Each issue carries some feature writing and sells for $1.75.

Modern Man--A veteran entertainment magazine since 1950, this collection of features and photographs is published in Skokie, Illinois by the Publishers Development Corp. Circulation has been falling in the past few years with circulation now at 121,110. Modern Man retails for $1.50 per copy.

Players--Started in 1973, this is a magazine designed especially for the young black male. The publisher, in Los Angeles, is Sid Smith. All of the editorial content is aimed at black men including the all-black cartoons and advertisements. Circulation totals 249,923 with each issue retailing for $1.25.

There are several other "entertainment publications," but the circulations do not comprise a significant portion of the market and will not be listed.

Other Masculine Interest Magazines
(not primarily pictorial)

Argosy--Published by Popular Publications, Inc. in New York, this is an action-feature magazine carrying adventure articles on a variety of mostly traditional subjects. The newsstand price is $1.00 per copy. Circulation averages around one million and encompasses four regional advertising editions.

Petersen Action Group--Published in Los Angeles, this group of magazines includes Hot Rod, Motor Trend, Car Craft, Guns and Ammo, Hunting, Skin Diver, Wheels Afield, Motorcyclist, and Air Progress, all of which are directed primarily at a male audience. Total circulation for the complete group is 2.8 million. Petersen recently purchased True magazine (see below).

True--Formerly owned by the Fawcett Publishing Co. in New York, the circulation of this magazine fell nearly 20 per cent in 1974 to 900,000. Under new ownership, the magazine's editorial content is changing in several ways.

VIP--VIP is the Playboy Club's in-house magazine which reports the matters of concern to club members on a quarterly basis. Anyone may subscribe, however, at 35¢ a copy or $1.00 per year. Circulation is 905,797.

It is essential that Esquire be mentioned here as that magazine which considers itself to be primarily a men's magazine. Esquire is really in a separate category, however. It was this magazine that began as a "girly magazine" but rapidly moved toward more literary interests. Esquire introduced such new journalists as Gay Talese and carried articles by Tom Wolfe. In its 42 year history, it has published 51 Pulitzer Prize winners and 17 Nobel laureates. Circulation is 1.3 million, with 1.1 million subscriptions part of the total.

Comparison

For Playboy, the men's entertainment field has long been a lucrative one. Starting with the successful magazine as a base, Playboy Enterprises has invested in the hotel business, the night club business, the movie industry and in book publishing. The advent of Penthouse in 1970 into this one-time monopoly has had significant effects on Playboy. Penthouse is likely to continue claiming a sizeable portion of the magazine market.

In addition to their similarities as editors and publishers of two similar magazines, Hefner and Guccione have other common characteristics. Both men wanted to be cartoonists before they became publishers, both are divorced and both have children. Additionally, the two men's fathers are corporate treasurers of the enterprises.

From the very beginning, competition between the two magazines has been bitter. Penthouse's initial promotion campaign portrayed the Playboy Bunny sumbol through a telescopic rifle sight, while a headline declared, "We are going Bunny Hunting." In 1974 other promotional material shows a turtle flexing his muscles to the tune of "Penthouse Power" while a rabbit cowers behind a rock. Regarding circulation competition, there may indeed be some analogies to be made with the fable of the tortoise and the hare. Penthouse's circulation, now at 3.7 million, is more than half that of Playboy. Since its introduction into this country, the circulation has increased more than two times each year. Jim Shanahan, Penthouse's Midwest circulation director, confidently predicts that his magazine will surpass Playboy in circulation sometime in 1975.[43]

The recent decline in Playboy's circulation figures has been interpreted in some circles to be directly related to Penthouse gains. The competition is becoming increasingly caustic. One of Playboy's advertising directors allegedly told an advertiser that Penthouse's circulation figures were artificially inflated. An angry Bob Guccione replied by filing a $40 million suit against Playboy, which has subsequently been thrown out of court for lack of sufficient grounds.

Although both magazines have similar reader profiles in terms of sex, age, income and marital status, one study indicated that their overlapping readership was well under 20 per cent.[44]

Playboy continues to run, on the average, 100 pages longer than Penthouse. Despite this size difference, the two magazines often appear to be quite similar in length, due to Penthouse's use of an unusually heavy paper stock.

Advertising revenues of the two publications differed by as much as $34 million in 1973. Gail Turil, account executive for Penthouse, says that Playboy remains the principal competition. She claims Penthouse is taking accounts away from Playboy and attracting advertisers who formerly were unique to Playboy.[45]

Another important area of comparison between the two magazines is in the photography. The model's fictitious name and frequent recurrence in Playboy is contrasted by Penthouse's policy of using girls who have never been professional nude models and prints only their real names. Traditionally, Playboy was thought to be at the very brink of the public morality. But Penthouse beat Playboy to pubic hair when it initiated the currently accepted trend in 1970. Playboy, of course, quickly followed suit.

While Playboy tends to photograph and retouch in such a way as to present near perfect specimens of female anatomy, Penthouse tends to be more earthy and realistic. Penthouse is also well known for the muted focus through use of the butterfly screen. The Penthouse Pets frequently wear garter belts, stockings and other items, creating a striking difference to Playboy's simplistic, innocent nudes.

Influenced somewhat by its kinkier British origins, Penthouse's editorial content often deals with subjects Playboy's writing has never touched. In 1974, for instance, Penthouse ran a feature on Hilderbrand, who was described as "the innovative designer of torture machines." The story was illustrated with pictures demonstrating the equipment. The magazine is rarely inhibited in dealing with subjects such as homosexuality, bi-sexuality, and sexual fetishes, all of which were once alien to the Playboy philosophy, but which now receive competitive treatment.

With the emergence of Penthouse, Hefner has acknowledged that Playboy is "not nearly as avant-garde, or on the forefront of the fight for sexual freedom as it once was."[46] With 6.5 million subscribers, Hefner evidently did not feel compelled to out match Penthouse's liberalism issue for issue. This reluctance to significantly change the editorial focus of a successful magazine led to the creation of Oui, the publication specifically designed to keep Penthouse under control.

At the very start, Oui became the younger, more flexible son of Playboy. Fiction was dropped in favor of more lightweight feature material and the tone of the magazine became a bit more earthy. In very few ways are Playboy and Oui similar. Oui's Midwest circulation director, John Kabler, maintains that Oui is a separate magazine from Playboy and only a few of the advertising accounts are shared.[47] Averaging only 130 pages per issue, the product's appearance is quite different, as well.

Recently, Oui missed its guaranteed circulation by 11 per cent, and there is speculation that the magazine may be in trouble. Brought out to compete with Penthouse, Oui's circulation gains have been completely overshadowed by Penthouse's spectacular success. In its two-year existence, circulation has not quite doubled and fast-rising circulation figures appear to be one of the vital elements of success in this field.

Although no other men's entertainment publications have amassed such high circulation figures as Playboy, Penthouse and Oui, there are nevertheless dozens of imitators born each decade. Essentially these publications seek to find success in the same vein as the "Big Three" and often attempt to carve out their own niche by concentrating on sports, auto racing or ethnic interests. The mortality rate among these publications is high with a life expectancy under five years.

Players, the new black monthly, has shown some initial signs of success in its ability to define an audience. Attempts in the black man's entertainment field have been made before in the past, however, and have all been unsuccessful. Players' editorial content is similar to that of Oui in terms of photography and article quality. There seems to be a better chance for this publication than the other imitators, given the concentrated focus.

The other masculine interest magazines such as the Petersen group, Argosy and Saga are not directly competitive with the entertainment magazines and as a whole have not been as successful as their nude counterparts. These publications tend to rely on action-feature material appealaing to the adventure-interest group. The reader duplication between this group and Playboy and Penthouse, is under 50 per cent.

Within the past few years, a unique group of imitators of Playboy has appeared on the market. The new group, which in some cases is practically indistinguishable from the men's entertainment field, is aimed at female audiences. Viva, published by Penthouse, and Playgirl are two monthlies which have adopted many of the hallmarks traditionally used by the male publications and have adapted them to a female audience. This includes pin-ups, cartoons, ribald features, and nude model photography--but this time the models have switched sexes.

So far, both Playgirl and Viva have been tremendously successful. Viva, which hit the newsstand four months after Playgirl had opened the market, set a record in American publishing history by beginning sales with one million newsstand copies.[48] The guaranteed rate base has declined somewhat, but remains at 750,000. In the spring of 1973, Playgirl debuted on the newsstands and sold out all 600,000 copies of the first issue within hours. The first anniversary issue sold 2.1 million copies and the circulation figure is now over one million.

Conclusions

If there is any one statement to be made about the group of magazines discussed in this report, it is that they represent a unique genre of consumer publications. The success is difficult to attain, but for those who make it past the initial point, success is virtually guaranteed. It would seem that the combination of quality writing and photography or even non-quality writing and photography aimed at the prurient interests of the young male, provide a winning formula. No publication without some journalistic merit has yet made it in this field, and therefore, the respectability facade attained through writing seems essential.

After monopolizing the field for so many years, Playboy may soon be forced to yield an equal share of the power to Penthouse. If present trends continue, the day of reckoning may be sometime this year. Already Penthouse has shown both a strong desire and an increasing ability to weaken Playboy's stronghold.

The future of Oui is not certain but, as a young publication, it cannot yet be adequately predicted. Recent declines in circulation may well be the signal of trouble ahead. Originally intended to help stave off the attack by Penthouse, the magazine's success has been less than what its editors might have hoped.

Excluding the remote possibility of a reversal in the current trend towards sexual freedom, future projections for the entertainment field seem promising. The prospects for male-oriented journalism as a whole, however, are not entirely clear. Indications in this regard may come from the future success or failure of True, now under new management.

As differences in circulation between Playboy and Penthouse decrease, the competition is certain to grow more caustic. The successes of these giants will undoubtedly continue to attract fortune seekers into the field with their imitations. But the developing battles within the various groups is likely to ultimately discourage the weaker publications and the result will probably be that the more powerful publications will be left alone again to fight it out among themselves.

Notes

[1] "Adventures in the Skin Trade," Time, July 30, 1973, p. 46.

[2] Entertainment publication is defined as a magazine which contains a sizeable percentage of model photography as part of its editorial content. It is not meant to be derogatory.

[3] "Playkids," Time, April 29, 1957, p. 69.

[4] Although Esquire never carried nudity as far as the modern entertainment magazines have, it nevertheless began with nude models.

[5] The magazine was an immediate success. Orders for the first issue doubled in the months of planning. Circulation topped one million in less than three years.

[6] All population figures based upon data from the U.S. Bureau's 1973 interim report.

[7] The median age for all three publications is under 30.

[8] The kicker appears on the cover corner of each issue.

[9] "Son of Playboy," Newsweek, August 18, 1973, p. 62.

[10] Playboy's first issue appeared in January 1953.

[11] "Playboy Puts a Glint in the Admen's Eye," Business Week, June 28, 1969, p. 142.

[12] The average issue length has grown from 75 in 1955 to 225 in 1974.

[13] Benjamin DeMott, "Anatomy of Playboy," Commentary, August 1962, p. 111.

[14] M. J. Sobrain, Jr., "Sage and Serious Doctrine of Hugh Hefner," National Review, February 1, 1974, p. 133.

[15] Editorial Profile in Standard Rate and Data Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Publications.

[16] Hugh Hefner, Interview for UPI by David Smothers transmitted February 3, 1974.

[17] Based on W. R. Simmons, Magazine Audience Report, 1972.

[18] R. P. Nelson, Publication Design (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1972), p. 6.

[19] Sobrain, p. 133.

[20] Miller v. California, 93 S. Ct. 2607 (1973).

[21] "Girly Magazines Claw at Each Other," *Business Week*, May 11, 1974, p. 36.

[22] *Playboy* has been the subject of sharp criticism from feminists in this country for its exploitation of women and women's bodies.

[23] *New York Times*, December 26, 1973, sec. 6, p. 4.

[24] *Playboy*, December 1974.

[25] Student subscriptions at $7.00 per year are offered from the publisher.

[26] Publisher's Statement, Audit Bureau of Circulation, June 1974.

[27] Information from Publishers Information Bureau and Playboy Enterprises, Inc. financial statement, 1974.

[28] Editorial Profile, S.R.D.S.

[29] Daniel Yankelovich, "Changing Youth Values in the 70's," excerpts from 1974 Study, *A Study of American Youth by Daniel Yankelovich* (1974).

[30] *Penthouse* promotional material, 1974.

[31] Simmons, *op. cit*.

[32] *Congressional Record*, April 15, 1973.

[33] *Penthouse* promotional material, 1974.

[34] Publishers Statement, Audit Bureau of Circulation, June 30, 1974.

[35] Interview with Jim Shanahan, November 14, 1974, Chicago, Ill.

[36] Simmons, *op. cit*.

[37] "Hefner's Grandchild," *Time*, August 28, 1972, p. 36.

[38] "Son of Playboy," *Newsweek*, August 28, 1973, p. 62.

[39] Audit Bureau of Circulation, *op. cit*.

[40] Simmons, *op. cit*.

[41] *Oui* rate card, 1974.

[42] All statistics from A.B.C. or Standard Rate and Data Service.

[43] Interview with Jim Shanahan, *op. cit*.

[44] Simmons, op. cit.

[45] Interview with Gail Turil, November 14, 1974, Chicago, Ill.

[46] "Adventures in the Skin Trade," Time, July 30, 1973, p. 51.

[47] Interview with John Kabler, November 18, 1974, Chicago, Ill.

[48] C. Chase, "What Do You Say to a Naked Man?," Redbook, September, 1974, p. 66.

Comfortably Above Ground--Always Were In Fact:
Rolling Stone, Village Voice

Terry Breen

In the past 20 years many successful new periodicals have sprung up in the United States. Among them, there are magazines like Playboy, Psychology Today, and Ms. Like these three, the bulk of the new magazines have been conventionally styled and geared to a selective audience. To typify: Playboy is aimed at young, urbane men and those wishing they were; Psychology Today at educated persons interested in the social sciences; and Ms. at women holding feminist values. Format in these magazines is unquestionably magazine-like: standard 8½" x 11" size, saddle-stitched binding, coated body and cover stock, and so on.

But two publications in this large group have not been as easy to understand or classify: the Village Voice and Rolling Stone. They have a tabloid format, and are printed on newsprint--so they look like newspapers. They have long and subjective articles--so they seem like magazines. Arguments like these could fill out a goodly sized chart or two. Perhaps the safest retreat in determining what the Village Voice and Rolling Stone should be called is their classifications with the Audit Bureau of Circulations. (ABC's classifications are based, of course, on whatever status a member has applied for.) The Village Voice, since its beginning in 1955, has chosen to remain in ABC's files as a newspaper. Rolling Stone, although widely referred to as a newspaper during its early years, applied for membership in ABC as a magazine. (Begun in November 1967, it didn't, however, submit its application to ABC until February 1970.)

Whether magazine or newspaper, though, these two publications are tremendously successful. The weekly Village Voice, which covers New York and national politics, social affairs and culture, has built up a circulation of over 145,000,[1] and grosses an estimated $1,100,000 a year.[2] Rolling Stone, a biweekly, has broadened its original editorial concept of rock music coverage to embrace national politics and has accumulated a circulation of 371,800.[3] During the 1972-73 fiscal year the magazine grossed $5 million.[4]

There is little doubt, then, that the Village Voice and Rolling Stone are now firmly established conventional publications. But since their beginnings, a specter of suspicion has hung above them. Their newspaper-like--and by extension, underground newspaper-like--format has been only a part of it. To go along with this, they have had somewhat offbeat editorial content, occasionally punctuated with a few words not ordinarily found in every American living room. And their audiences: who have these subversive characters been anyway? Because these two publications were and are innovative, some people have had trouble classifying and understanding them. Even now, long since the Voice was 18 pages long and cost a nickel, and Rolling Stone was 24 pages and cost a quarter, are they both journalistic uncertainties. At present, the Village Voice, at around 120 pages and 50 cents a copy, and Rolling Stone, at about 96 pages and 75 cents a copy, still lie in a gray area between the purely conventional and the partly underground. But the fuzziness becomes clearer, or perhaps irrelevant, when the main reason for their success is considered: pleasing, respectively, new audiences that were, and are, very willing to have a voice.

The Village Voice audience was at first the Greenwich Village "beat" population that didn't find existing newspaper coverage entirely germane to their interests. Rolling Stone's audience was the rising youth culture in need of an authoritative spokesman for its music and for the feeling that went into and grew out of it. In both cases there was a need for an alternate journalism covering those areas the existing press neglected. These two publications provided for that need. And, continually perceptive of change, they have adapted to the changing needs of their audiences as well as to their own. This has made them successful.

But, new needs and new audiences, like most new things viewed from the outside, are suspect. For a long time the Village Voice and Rolling Stone are widely considered part of the naughty underground press. There is little doubt, of course, that the Voice was instrumental in launching the American underground press, which in its heyday claimed over 200 newspapers. Nor is there much doubt that Rolling Stone, years after the Voice's inception, was considerably influenced by the underground press. However, in only one main area--that of providing alternate journalism--do the two publications substantially resemble the underground. For this reason alone it is not only incorrect to call the Village Voice and Rolling Stone "underground," it is also insufficient.

So, in trying to put these two publications into the proper focus, let's first look a little deeper at why they are conventional publications and not underground ones.

* * *

Differences between an underground and a conventional publication can be observed by looking at internal and external factors. The internal side involves the publication's actual operation. It deals with questions of business and editorial professionalism. How "professionally" a publication operates determines its attitudes and goals in the marketplace. In a related way, the external side deals with the over-all reaction to the publication as a product. Recognition by fellow publications, and type and size of audience determine a publication's conventionality.

I. The conventional press is characterized by a money-making motive; the underground press is generally not.

Both the Village Voice and Rolling Stone are and have been admittedly money-making operations.

In 1959, after three and a half years of operation, the Village Voice's founding publisher, Edwin Fancher, said, "The Voice is going to have a lot to say about Greenwich Village and is going to be a big money-maker in the process."[5] Indeed. But what is not evident in Fancher's statement is that the Voice had been enormously successful up to that time. Since its founding in 1955 the paper had accumulated a total paid circulation of 11,500, and was expanding at a rate of 100 copies per week.[6] Started with $15,000 by Fancher, Daniel Wolf and Norman Mailer, the paper survived losses of $1,000 a week during its first year. After that first year, Mailer, who appears to have been in the operation more for a writing exercise than anything else, left the staff, although he kept a sizeable ownership of stock.

But Fancher and Wolf stuck with it, as publisher and editor, respectively.

In early 1970, 80 per cent of the Voice's stock was purchased for an estimated $3.5 million by New Yorker's Carter Burden and Bartle Bull. At that time some observers valued the Voice at almost $7 million. In June 1974, a massive exchange between the Burden-Bull Company, called Taurus Communications, and the New York Magazine Company was executed. Taurus traded its 80 per cent ownership for $800,000 in cash, the takeover of a $2.5 million Voice debt, and 600,000 shares of New York magazine stock. At that time, it was an educated guess that the Voice was making a million dollars a year before taxes.[7] It had been quite a growth.

Critics of the underground press have recognized the Voice's moneymaking motives--motives, it should be emphasized, which distinguish the New York tabloid form the underground press. Everette E. Dennis and William L. Rivers have observed: "If the underground is defined as growing out of the psychedelic subculture of the 1960's, oriented to young people, and printed on offset lithography, the Voice, which has always been on the fringes of the establishment even as it promoted reform, hardly qualifies."[8] Similarly, writes, Robert Glessing, ". . . the Village Voice, which . . . considers itself the father of modern underground newspapers, is so widely patronized by big business that it refers to itself as the 'trendmaker' and appears to be very overground indeed."[9] Lawrence Leamer says the Voice "has stayed unashamedly a commercial enterprise as well, and an extremely lucrative one at that. It has no pretensions to being a part of the movement and inhabits a no-man's land between the Establishment and radical media."[10]

Rolling Stone, as much an inhabitant of this no-man's land as the Village Voice, has conducted its business operation in much the same way as the Voice. On the magazine's fourth birthday, Rolling Stone's editor and controlling stockholder, Jann Wenner wrote in an editorial: "If you're doing public art and communication in America--if you even live here--you're dealing with money, and you're in business. One of the cardinal rules of the commercial side of one's life (as an individual, a family or a corporation) is to be profitable. If you're not, you can quickly go bankrupt, and then you are out on the street again . . . As long as there are printing bills to pay, writers who want to earn a living by their craft, people who pay for their groceries, want to raise children and have their own homes, Rolling Stone will be a capitalistic operation."[11]

At 21, Wenner, together with music critic Ralph Gleason and photographer Baron Wolman, started Rolling Stone with loans amounting to $7,500. Surviving several staff upheavals and a serious financial crisis in 1970 and 1971, the magazine today has a book value of approximately $7.5 million. The current measure of Wenner's success is far removed from that described by Newsweek in 1969: "Wenner . . . remains, for the moment, straddling two worlds, a swinging capitalist marching profitably to the big beat of rock. He has already turned down a couple of $500,000 offers for Rolling Stone, but, he says: 'If a real lot of money came along, I'd sell it and get out. Things don't last forever.'"[12]

Right now, it appears that Rolling Stone may last a while in approaching forever. Besides Rolling Stone, though, Wenner has started and discontinued publication of two magazines and has run a highly successful book publishing company, Straight Arrow Books, since 1970. According to Rolling Stone publicity director Bryn Bridenthal, another expansion by Wenner may soon be in the works. "There haven't been any decisions made about it," said Bridenthal recently, "but Jann's been thinking of starting two other magazines. One would be a book review magazine and the other would be a politics magazine." She said there will probably be a decision made on them by the end of May 1975.

Clearly, if Rolling Stone started out in a fun-first and business-second frame of mind, it has settled very comfortably, and seriously, into a profit-making one. To those who feel that Rolling Stone may have "sold out," Wenner has replied that he feels good about supporting the music that he has called "the greatest definable part of the youth culture."[13] And "capitalism," he has said, "is what allows us the incredible indulgence of this music."[14]

II. Advertising is much more selective and plentiful in conventional publications than in underground ones.

Although the Village Voice has been known for its sometimes outlandish ads, it has also, like Rolling Stone, prohibited patent sex ads. And sex ads, Rolling Stone editor Jann Wenner has noted, provide the economic base of the underground newspaper.[15] Journalism critic John Tebbel has also observed this dependence in the underground magazine press: "Most of these publications have four-letter-word titles, and exist mostly by virtue of their classified advertising, which offers a wide sexual choice to its liberated readers."[16] In conventional magazine fashion, however, in both the Village Voice and Rolling Stone, advertising has been overwhelmingly of the conventional display type.

In the early days of the Village Voice, ad volume was around 20 per cent per 20-page issue. As issue size grew, so did percentage of ads. Today, with issue size varying around 120-140 pages, the ad volume is about 65 per cent. From advertisement of the more exotic offerings of the best era the Voice has expanded the scope of its advertising content to include more consumer goods and services, most notably in the area of entertainment: records, stereo equipment, and current local features in film, theater and music. "Then as now," writes Lawrence Leamer, "when Voice readers said they bought the paper more for the ads than for the editorial content, they were offering an unintended insight into themselves and the Voice itself."[17]

Unlike the Voice, which was started as a community paper, and later gained a national and international following, Rolling Stone started out with visions of covering rock 'n roll on a national level. Accordingly, the magazine's primary advertisers since the beginning have been the music industry and related fields: records, musical instruments, sound reproduction equipment, rock performances, etc. Today, however, with a swing toward more general interest editorial content, ads for liquor, wearing apparel, magazines, and other goods are starting to appear. Rolling Stone's advertising volume per issue is presently around 50 per cent, but as one devoted reader has remarked, "The magazine itself is not damaged by it."[18]

Because Rolling Stone depends so heavily on the music industry, some feel the magazine goes lightly while covering it. An oft heard criticism is that the magazine failed to cover the 1973 payola scandals in the record industry. In a broader sense, notes press critic Roger Lewis, "(Rolling Stone) has always seemed to prefer documenting interminable legal wrangles within the music business rather than investigating the economic basis of that industry." Furthermore, he writes, "The size of the paper's advertising revenue may be one reason for its political conservatism," a conservatism for which Rolling Stone "has faced increasingly bitter criticism from such organizations as the Underground Press Syndicate."[19]

The question of the magazine's critical attitudes toward the underground press notwithstanding, Rolling Stone's firm advertising base has obviously isolated it from the underground press.

III. Conventional publications are run on strong business knowledge and by full-time staffs; underground publications are generally deficient in business knowledge and operate with part-time staffs.

When the Village Voice and Rolling Stone both got started, they were staffed by workers receiving little or no pay for their efforts. However, once the publications became able to operate in a financially secure fashion, they paid their staffers.

At the Village Voice, the recent takeover by Clay Felker's New York Magazine Company has brought raises for most of the paper's staff. A similar situation occurred when Taurus Communications took over controlling interest of the paper in 1970. Because the Village Voice was a closed corporation until the June 1974 takeover, though, salaries have never been publicly divulged. However, a recent article in New Times magazine states: ". . . annual salaries to the full time star writers . . . seem to average out at under $11,000."[20]

The new takeover has brought some other interesting changes. Editor Daniel Wolf and publisher Edwin Fancher have been dismissed from the staff, and have declined taking "consulting" positions offered them by the new boss of the parent company, New York magazine editor Clay Felker. The Voice staff, including the new executive editor, Ross Wetzsteon, will probably remain unaffected by the new situation. But the business operation of the Voice takes on a new look. Carter Burden, millionaire New York councilman, Voice board vice-chairman and largest single shareholder; Burden's wealthy friend, Bartle Bull, the Voice's president and publisher; and Clay Felker, make up a powerful group. And it seems certain that this power will be exercised, most noticeably in layout changes, and increased national advertising.

The 45-year-old Clay Felker is probably the most dynamic member in the Voice's new management. He is president of the Voice's parent company, editor and publisher of New York, and newly elected board chairman of Village Voice, Inc.[22] He has had an ambitious career. He was a reporter for Life (1951-57), and feature editor of Esquire)1957-62) before becoming editor of the New York Herald Tribune's Sunday magazine section in 1963. After the Tribune folded, Felker developed the magazine section into the highly successful New York.

Felker's past editorial innovation has caused some observers to foresee a Felker influence on Voice editorial matters. However, Felker wrote in a press release issued shortly after the June agreements: ". . . there are no plans whatsoever of intermingling the two publications (New York and the Voice)." In that same press release he did mention some changes, though: ". . . the merged company hopes to be able to provide the backing to enhance the potential of the Voice and in doing so broaden its scope and audience."[23]

Felker's involvement with the Voice may easily fit into the scenario Folio magazine has placed Felker within: ". . . expanding the New York success into a multimagazine enterprise . . . (by starting) new magazines or (buying) existing ones in order to take advantage of his staff's expertise and the economics of a large scale."[24] Felker is portrayed by Folio as one "fascinated by wealth and power," who numbers among his friends such other publishing notables as Clare Booth Luce, Katherine Graham, and Dorothy Schiff. At present, after an abortive start-up of a planned quarterly called Couples, and a decision to drop plans for purchasing Los Angeles magazine, Felker hopes to bring his expertise to bear on the Voice. About his new venture, Felker has said: "There are three or four ways we could go, but all of them are based on keeping the Voice just as it stands. Right now I'm very strong for the status quo."[25]

Not unlike the Voice, Rolling Stone initiated itself into the magazine business in pure shoestring style. For three years it operated out of a rent-free loft above a San Francisco printing shop. At the very start Rolling Stone had a staff of five volunteer workers. By 1969, it had expanded its staff to 12, and was paying each member. Today, seven years since its beginning, Rolling Stone has a staff in excess of 100 persons, some of which make up what Peter Schrag calls "the accoutrements . . . of corporate journalism--checkers, research department, bureaus in London and New York, over-30 business staffers in suits and ties, expense accounts and a competitive editorial budget."[26]

Wenner, now 28, is, in fact, the person most responsible for the magazine's success. His amazing business flair and editorial perspicacity have earned him the reputation of being the new William Randolph Hearst, with the nickname of (what else?) "Citizen Wenner." Along with a business mind, of course, goes an occasionally dominant business heart: he has brought off several lay-off and firing sweeps in the evolution of the magazine. The recent firing of Stone managing editor, John Walsh, who had done much to upgrade the magazine's editorial operation, and the subsequent hiring of Nixonite Richard Irvine as corporate president, prompted a short item in New York asking, "What's going on out there in Rolling Stoneland?" The article quotes a Rolling Stone contributing editor as saying, "(Wenner) has everybody so paranoid that they have to check the masthead each issue to make sure they still have a job."[27] About Wenner's firing and hiring, Rolling Stone's Research Director Valerie Kosorek said recently: "We're growing very fast, and when things get a little heavy, there have to be some adjustments. It's the only way to keep up with change and growth. No one has been released without a good reason; change is just the nature of the business."

IV. Writing in the conventional press is analytical, responsible and relatively balanced; that in the underground press is loose, tending toward diatribe and tiresome rhetoric.

The writing in both the *Village Voice* and *Rolling Stone* is generally freer than that found elsewhere in the conventional press. By and large, however, it is highly responsible and well-documented. One need only look at Jack Newfield's incisive examination of New York area judges, entitled, "The Ten Worst Judges of 1974" (the *Village Voice*, September 26, 1974), or Joe Eszterhas' sobering coverage of Evel Knieval's Snake River debacle, "King of the Goons" (*Rolling Stone* November 7, 1974), to bear this out. These two articles typify a free-styled, subjective reporting that suffers no loss of authority for its point of view or occasionally uninhibited language.

The argument may, of course, be raised that uninhibited writing has been a practice of the underground press. Indeed, as Robert Glessing observes, "The *Village Voice* was the first newspaper in modern American journalism to consistently report news with no restriction on language--a policy widely adopted by underground editors to shock the authority structure."[28] However, unlike the underground press, the *Village Voice* and *Rolling Stone* have used this writing freedom to form their own type of responsible journalism, and in the process have attracted some notable writers. At the *Village Voice*, writers like Jack Newfield, Margot Hentoff, Mary Perot Nichols, and Richard Goldstein have flourished in the paper's free atmosphere. At *Rolling Stone*, young writers lime Tim Crouse, Tim Cahill, and Tom Burke have been given a start into very successful writing careers. Besides furthering the efforts of these young *Rolling Stone* writers and the stylistic virtuosity of more established staff writers as Joe Esxterhas and Hunter Thompson, this writing freedom has also attracted to the magazine free-lance writers the likes of Truman Capote, Tom Wolfe and Herbert Gold.

Peter Schrag was referring to *Rolling Stone* in the following observation, but he might as well have been referring to the *Village Voice* also: "This tolerance . . . encourages a more serious form of reporting which depends not on generalization, summary or analysis, but on the incessant accumulation of detail, a kind of *cinematic journalism*."[29] As "writer's" publications, the *Voice* and *Rolling Stone* have held high writing standards from their beginnings. Jack Newfield, with the *Voice* from its start, and now a senior editor, explains that his and most of the *Voice*'s writing is different from traditional reporting not in responsibility, but in presentation: "It is a new type of journalism differing from the "old journalism, (which) was blind to an important part of the truth," and which "had built-in bias in its presentation."[30]

In the same vein, *Rolling Stone*'s Jann Wenner explains that the reason for the success of *Rolling Stone* and the failure of the underground press is the same: "(The underground papers) just failed to develop good writers and good reporters. The best professional people who were associated with the underground press have moved on, because they never saw any chance for professional standards to be maintained, or to appear in a serious medium."[31]

Besides the quality of writing, a related aspect of "availability" of writing distinguishes the *Village Voice* and *Rolling Stone* from the underground press: The Underground Press Syndicate, which has distributed material freely among underground papers, is based on the principle of common ownership of writing. In obvious opposition to this, the *Voice* and *Rolling Stone* have always maintained exclusive copywrighted ownership of their material.

V. Layout in the conventional press is organized and pleasing to the eye, while that of the underground press has tended toward disorganization and tackiness. Graphics in the legitimate press are clear, well-defined and carefully arranged, while those of the underground press have tended toward gauche art nouveau and the psychedelic.

Granted: both the Village Voice and Rolling Stone are not the most attractive publications around. Both have been attacked for "soggy" and uninspiring graphics, and dull typesetting. However, they have hardly ever been attacked for organization and readability. Basically, they look the same: dimensions--11" x 15", offset lithography on newsprint, and broadside tabloid format. However, there are some differences. The Village Voice, maintaining its newspaper profile, stays away from four-color half-tones. Rolling Stone uses a four-color cover and, occasionally, color inside. Both publications, though, favor a low-key presentation--as conventional, in fact, as that of the Sporting News.

The Village Voice's print is arranged in a five-column newspaper format. Besides artist Jules Feiffer's cartoon in each issue, the graphics are black and white photographs. Lawrence Leamer sets the tone of the Voice's appearance: "The Village Voice, for its part, never tried to bedeck itself with love beads and psychedelic drawings, or clenched fists and militant art, and has stayed very much an observer of the cultural and political revolt."[32]

A Rolling Stone advertising brochure calls the magazine's format "clean, classic, easy to read." This, along with the following remark by a Rolling Stone associate editor, Charles Percy, seems to say it all: "(Rolling Stone has provided) a quiet page with clear, clean photographs and neat layout, in contrast to the underground press, most of which was devoted to heavy overprints and dark, cluttered art."[33] There has been some experimentation in graphics and layout, but Rolling Stone has basically stuck to a variable three, four, and five column layout and subtle graphics. There has been one minor change in format: the paper was a standard size foldout (with two front covers) until switching to a regular single-fronted tabloid format in the summer of 1973. Artists Ralph Steadman and Annie Leibovitz have, along with other contributors, given Rolling Stone a top-notch visual flourish. Overall, since imitation is a sure measure of success, the magazine must be doing something right: it has already given away numerous "Like a Rolling Stone" awards to other publications copying its format and style.

VI. Conventional publications generally receive recognition from other conventional publications; underground publications, while perhaps ignored unduly by the overground or conventional press, do not receive this recognition.

The Village Voice has won at least one award from the New York Press Association for being the best tabloid weekly in the state. Time magazine has said of the Voice: "(It) has earnestly chronicled the pecularities of New York City life, its iconoclastic eye quick to spot problems of the underdog. Unremittingly quarrelsome, wordy and under-edited, the Voice also captures the funky, ingrown perspective of Greenwich Village."[34] Newsweek has called it "a brash tabloid read by bankers as well as beatniks."[35]

Rolling Stone has received a National Magazine Award for its "integrity and courage . . . in presenting material that challenged many of the shared attitudes of its readers."[36] The Columbia Journalism Review writes, ". . . it has given an honest--and searching--account of one of the deepest social revolutions of our times."[37]

With this kind of reception, these two publications should no doubt be called conventional.

VII. The conventionalpublication generally has a larger, more diverse circulation than the underground publication.

According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations,[38] the Voice's total average paid circulation for the twelve months ending December 31, 1973 was 145,008. Of this figure, 116,836 were in the New York area, and 28,172 in the rest of the United States and foreign countries. Newsstand sales accounted for little over 90 per cent of its circulation. Its circulation has not changed considerably since 1970, reaching a low of 135,533 in the third quarter of 1970, and a high of 149,256 in the second quarter of 1972.

ABC reports Rolling Stone's total average paid circulation for the six months ending June 30, 1974 as 371,826.[39] Pass-along readership has been estimated by Rolling Stone management at over two million.[40] According to the ABC statement, the states having the highest sales for the six month period were: California (47,911), New York (39,911), Ohio (17,812), and Illinois (17,088). Single-copy sales accounted for little over two-thirds of the total paid circulation, with subscription sales accounting for the rest.[41] Since June 1973, Rolling Stone's circulation has grown by a phenomenal 40.89 per cent.[42] These figures, of course, do not account for the circulation of foreign editions of the magazine. Rolling Stone does, however, distribute versions of the magazine in England, and native language editions in France, Scandanavia, Latin America and Japan.

VIII. The conventional publication's audience has money to spend and is more in harmony with the rest of society than is that of the underground publication.

The 1971 profile of the average Village Voice reader was: a 34-year-old "trendmaker" with a $12,206 median family income and who uses alcohol in his home. Sixty per cent of Voice readers read the New York Times; 52.4 per cent were professionals; only .5 per cent were unemployed; 28.3 per cent were over 40; and 47.3 per cent were over 30.[43]

The average Rolling Stone reader is 22 years old and buys 61 records, 16 blank recording tapes, 11 prerecorded tapes, and $54 worth of books annually. Sixty-nine per cent of its audience is either in college or has attended college; 77 per cent are male, 76 per cent are single, and 47 per cent work.[44]

Clearly, such audiences are capable of supporting a conventional magazine.

* * *

> When we decided to start the Voice, none of us knew very much about newspapers. But we did know that Greenwich Village is one of the few areas in New York with a cohesiveness, a tradition, and a sense of community. We also realized that a new middle class was moving into the Village as a result of the postwar building boom. We felt that there was a need for a new weekly that would reflect the above-average tastes--and incomes--of these new residents.[45]
>
> --Edwin Fancher, 1959

> We (at Rolling Stone) felt we were going for a different audience, with an entirely different approach. We were trying, from the beginning, and continue to try to have professional writers, a professional reporting staff and good editing and layout. We want to run on a very solid, commercial basis. We also want to make money. We are in business, and not ashamed of it, and we are covering music. Music is the greatest part of youth culture, the thing more people were interested in and more importantly, was the method by which more people communicated.[46]
>
> --Jann Wenner, 1971

We have seen how the Village Voice and Rolling Stone are conventional publications, but let's look again at why they are successful. The basic reason, it seems, for their success, has been an ability to interpret the needs of their audience, to change when the needs change, and to provide for these needs. Both the Village Voice and Rolling Stone have been refreshing alternates for, roughly, two generations of readers. The two publications have served a function similar to that of the underground press by providing their readers an alternate to, as Robert Glessing writes, "(an) overground press (that) did not speak to the problems of a widening new subculture, a subculture that had become more educated and thus was more in need of its own communication medium."[47]

Glessing, for one, feels that the Voice was responsible for founding the American underground press, and "that (the Voice is) not as underground as it once was does not diminish its pioneering position."[48] In its role of pioneer, Glessing writes, "The Village Voice taught the new breed of journalists two things. First, it proved that the Bohemian contributors from New York's Greenwich Village could find a home within the newspaper format . . . The second lesson was that a newspaper could be different and survive . . . The Voice . . . gave wings to the fading dream that American journalism could be dedicated to informing all segments of the American electorate."[49]

Once the need of innovation was planted, it began to be nourished by the widespread dissatisfaction and alientation of the young, and what blossomed forth was the underground press, Lawrence Leamer assigns an innocent role to the Voice in causing this blossoming: ". . . the paper's founders had no inkling of the cultural and political upheaval that was shortly to engulf the United States.[50]

In a somewhat indirect way, Rolling Stone became a descendant of the Village Voice. When Rolling Stone first appeared in the fall of 1967, it no doubt looked like any other underground newspaper. But there was something which distinguished it from the rest. In the statement of purpose Jann Wenner wrote for the first issue, there was a somewhat unusual qualification: "We have begun a publication reflecting what we see are the changes related to rock 'n roll . . . Rolling Stone is not just about music, but also about the things and attitudes that the music embraces."[51] What had recurred in Rolling Stone was the provision of an alternate journalism: a coverage that was not provided by the existing press. It was the Village Voice's beginning in a new time and place, and like the Village Voice, with the proper care and editorial ingenuity, Rolling Stone would become successful.

Greenwich Village was a microcosm of the beat sensibility; San Francisco was a microcosm of the rock sensibility. In different times, but in much the same way, the Village Voice and Rolling Stone grew out of their environments to influence the world. From their original rapport with the needs of their readers, they expanded their editorial content to coincide with the changing needs of their readers.

For the future success of the two publications, second-guessing the audience will indeed be their major task. Things like staff upheavals have occurred in both, and probably will continue, as indispensable concomitants to change. But the future looks only promising for both. They have, like speed skaters behind wind-shielding change, kept close to change before, and will no doubt continue to change in the future. There are other skaters joining the pack, though. Following change, middle of the road media like television are broadcasting rock concerts; New Left politics are being assimilated into the post-Watergate thought of the rest of the conventional press. The Village Voice and Rolling Stone have new competitors.

But the mere presence of time also figures into the futures of both publications. The beat generation is now middle-aged. Its followers, that generation with a name yet to be prescribed by history--the rock generation, the Woodstock generation, or whatever--is hovering around 30. And so, the aging of the two publications' editors and writers, especially in the case of Rolling Stone, has been an important cause for editorial change. New interests come with age. Consequently, at a time when Rolling Stone is expanding its political coverage, the American political oracle from way back, the Village Voice, is moving towards increased coverage of that now very mature musical form--rock 'n roll. And with the new management of the Voice, there is speculation that the Voice will move in on Rolling Stone's territory.[52]

Well, mutatis mutandis and the Great American Way. Rolling Stone and the Village Voice are changing in a fashion not unlike other successful periodicals before them. And in a success based so much on adaptation and change, they should not have too much trouble in the future. We can look for more good things to come.

NOTES

[1] Audit Bureau of Circulations Audit Report, The Village Voice, May 1974.

[2] Media Industry Newsletter, October 11, 1974, p. 2.

[3] Audit Bureau of Circulations, Magazine Publisher's Statement for Rolling Stone for six months ending June 30, 1974.

[4] "Gathering No Moss," Newsweek, March 18, 1974, p. 68.

[5] "It's Little But Loud," Newsweek, March 2, 1959, p. 76.

[6] Ibid.

[7] John Leo, "Media---How to teach your $6,000 guard dog to talk to your plants and other great stories from the New York/Voice," New Times, June 21, 1974, p. 15.

[8] Everette E. Dennis and William L. Rovers, Other Voices: The New Journalism in America (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1974), p. 138.

[9] Robert J. Glessing, The Underground Press in America (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 3.

[10] Laurence Leamer, The Paper Revolutionaries (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 25.

[11] "Letter From the Editor," Rolling Stone, November 11, 1971, p. 6.

[12] "Rocking the News," Newsweek, April 28, 1969, p. 90.

[13] "Rolling Past the Underground Press," The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, September 1971, p. 8.

[14] "Rolling Stone's Rock World," Time, April 25, 1969, p. 78.

[15] The Bulletin, p. 8.

[16] John Tebbel, The American Magazine: A Compact History (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969), p. 264.

[17] Leamer, p. 162.

[18] Arthur B. Sansom III, from an unpublished paper entitled, "Some Thoughts on a Favorite Magazine," p. 8.

[19] Roger Lewis, Outlaws of America (London: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 113.

[20] Leo, p. 14.

[21] *Advertising Age*, September 10, 1974.

[22] Media Industry Newsletter, p. 2.

[23] Alexander Cockburn, "Press Clips," The *Village Voice*, June 13, 1974.

[24] A Kent MacDougall, "New York is a Felker Festival," *Folio*, July/August, 1974, p. 73.

[25] "The Odd Couple," *Time*, June 17, 1974, p. 42.

[26] Peter Schrag, "Politics in Pepperland," *More*, October, 1974, p. 10.

[27] "*Rolling Stone* Squaring Off?" *New York*, September 23, 1974, p. 72.

[28] Glessing, p. 14.

[29] Schrag, p. 10.

[30] Dennis and Rivers, p. 8.

[31] *The Bulletin*, etc., p. 6.

[32] Leamer, p. 25.

[33] Dennis and Rivers, p. 159.

[34] *Time*, June 17, 1974, p. 42.

[35] *Newsweek*, March 2, 1959, p. 76.

[36] The New York *Times*, October 22, 1973, p. 32.

[37] Peter A. Janssen, "Rolling Stone's Guest for Respectability," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February, 1974.

[38] Audit Bureau of Circulations Audit Report, for The *Village Voice*, May 1974.

[39] Audit Bureau of Circulations Audit Magazine Publishers' Statement for *Rolling Stone* for six months ending June 30, 1974.

[40] *Rolling Stone* ad brochure from: Roger Organization and Seasonwein Associates.

[41] Audit Bureau of Circulations Magazine Publisher's Statement.

[42] Audit Bureau of Circulations Periodicals Circulation Averages for six months ending June 30, 1974: for *Rolling Stone*.

[43] Leamer, p. 162.

[44] A Survey Among Rolling Stone Subscribers and Newsstand Buyers, Seasonwein Associates, Inc., September 1974.

[45] Newsweek, March 2, 1959, p. 76.

[46] The Bulletin, etc., p. 76.

[47] Glessing, p. 12.

[48] Ibid., p. 14.

[49] Ibid., p. 17.

[50] Leamer, p. 21.

[51] From a Rolling Stone promotional brochure.

[52] There are at least two written speculations about Felker's moving into the Rolling Stone market. See the John Leo article in the June 21, 1974 New Times, p. 15 ("One scenario has Felker taking the Voice national and moving in on Rolling Stone."); and Alexander Cockburn's column in the June 13, 1974 Village Voice, page 8 (He speaks of a possible Felker "bid to make the Voice national rather than local in a bid to kick Rolling Stone out of the market.").

Black Consumer Magazines:
Black Enterprise, Ebony, Essence

Victoria L. O'Hara

There was a time in the United States when the names and faces of Black Americans appeared in print only in connection with slavery. They were being bought, sold, or they were wanted as runaways. Today, there are about 20 magazines in the United States dedicated to black interests. Considering the number of blacks, 22,549,815, 20 magazines seems a pathetic statistic.[1] Black magazines have only been a reality, however, since the 1940's. Twenty magazines in about 35 years is quite an achievement given the almost insurmountable obstacles of lack of capital, lack of qualified personnel, lack of advertisers and lack of a highly literate audience.

The fact that black magazines have survived and even prospered, is primarily due to the great need for them. Three factors made the emergence of the black periodical inevitable: lack of thorough objective coverage of blacks and black interests by the white media; a growing sense of unity and race pride among blacks; and improving economic status and increasing consumerism of the black population.

Black author and editor Lerone Bennett, Jr. summed up very well blacks' problems with the white media when he said, "American journalism reflects the biases of middle-class white scholars and scholarship which are heavily weighted against radical change. McLuhan is right: The medium is the message, and the message is that white is right."[2]

According to Fred Fedler's study of the adequacy of minority access to the media, the problem is not that the print and broadcast media deny minority groups access to their facilities.[3] In fact, Fedler's evidence consistently suggested that minority groups receive more, not less, publicity than comparable established groups. Blacks have long complained about their unfavorable treatment by the press. Fedler's study validated this complaint. He found that the publicity minority groups receive focuses upon demonstrations and violence. The media tend to discriminate against minority groups by "failing to publish the same types of stories about them that they routinely publish about established groups (i.e., elections, meetings, conventions, etc.)."[4]

This type of discrimination, coupled with the tendency to ignore the needs and interests of blacks when planning content, forced blacks to establish their own media.

Radial pride and a growing self-identity have also contributed to the emergence of black magazines. Blacks needed magazines tailored to their needs, interests, and culture. Once American blacks began to take pride in their blackness and stopped trying to identify with white values, they rejected the white media. They needed magazines which featured material by, about and for blacks; magazines full of black names and black faces.

Black Americans in 1974 are better educated, more aware, have higher incomes and consume more than ever before. Between 1961 and 1971, the proportion of black families with an income over $10,000 increased from 13 per cent to 30 per cent.

The black population in America is very young; the total median black age is 22.3 years. And high black incomes are concentrated among the young. In families where the head of the household is over 55, the family income is 64 per cent of white income, according to a study of the black advertising market conducted by Kevin A. Wall. Where the head of the house is under 35, the income is 82 per cent of white income. Wall found that these young blacks represent a distinct new group of achievement-oriented, middle-class consumers who spend nearly three-fourths of all black dollars. These educated consumers (in the last six years, the proportion of blacks in the 18-24 age group attending college almost doubled) are forcing marketers to recognize the black middle class and its advertising potential.[5] The growth of a black middle class with an increasing desire for consumer products and all the symbols of the good life, made it possible for emerging black magazines to draw the advertising dollars which spelled survival.

This study will trace the evolution of three magazines which have survived, in order to document some of the problems, successes and goals of the black magazine industry. Ebony, published by Johnson Publishing Company, was chosen because of its long and profitable survival as a general interest magazine, and because it has the largest circulation in the industry. Essence, published by Essence Communications, Inc., was included because it is the first magazine designed exclusively for the black woman and because it marks a change in the established format for a women's magazine. Black Enterprise was selected because it is the only magazine dedicated to the black businessman and black business interests. And it is the growing significance of black business which is partially responsible for the emergence of black magazines.

Ebony was started in 1945 by John H. Johnson, founder of the highly successful Johnson Publishing Company. Johnson previously had launched Negro Digest in 1943. Very similar in format to Reader's Digest, this magazine became the most successful black publication in America at that time, with a circulation of 100,000. Johnson designed Ebony as a black picture magazine patterned after Life. It was an instant success. Ebony's circulation today totals 1,300,000.

Essence had its beginnings in 1969 at a meeting on black business sponsored by a New York group. There, Jonathan Blunt, a salesman for a New Jersey phone company, mentioned the need for a magazine for black women. Blunt managed to get a loan, and with three or four others, founded Sapphire. The company called itself the Hollingsworth Group after one of the founders. Sapphire was later changed to Essence, a name more expressive of new black pride and awareness. An introductory issue was launched in April 1970 under the editorship of Ruth M. Ross. The first regular issue of Essence hit the streets in May 1970.

Black Enterprise was, and is, published by Earl G. Graves. The first issue appeared in August 1970 with the slogan "For Black Men and Women Who Want to Get Ahead." In October's "The Editor Speaks Out" column, Pat Patterson made a statement which partially explained the need for an importance of a magazine like Black Enterprise. "Any cursory review of Wall Street will show that the black community has indeed been circumvented. There are only 60 black stockbrokers out of a total of 35,000 in this country. And until this year, no black person had been admitted to the Exchange . . . On one point . . . we are all agreed. We must generate wealth. As a people with a reported $40 billion in spending power, it seems to be a good point from which to start generating."[6] Black Enterprise was designed as a how-to magazine for getting into business and generating such wealth.

The initial editorial concept of Ebony has changed more radically than that of Black Enterprise or Essence because it has been around much longer. As the black condition in America changed, so did Ebony. According to public relations director Reginald Hayes, Ebony today "is designed to be a Black-oriented consumer magazine which mirrors the broad experience of Black people throughout the world." Its primary editorial thrust is in entertainment and information. "We've changed with the times and the particular interests of our readers," said Hayes. "We try to keep a half step ahead of our readers, but not too far ahead. As blacks have identified themselves with being black more, we have too."

Ebony today is much more sophisticated than Ebony in 1945. It appeals to a more highly educated, aware, and culturally proud audience. Ebony's long crusade to instill pride in Blackness is drawing to a close. Most blacks in 1974 have at last achieved confidence in their own racial identity; consequently, Ebony has become much more realistic and objective in its editorial treatment.

According to Hayes, blacks in 1945 had been told for so long that they were worthless, that they had begun to believe it. They had little or no self-respect as a race. So Ebony undertook the goal of generating black pride through an editorial concept which emphasized the positive aspects of being black. Early issues did not deny racial injustice; they simply ignored it in the process of telling blacks how to succeed in a white world. That it was a white world was accepted as a premise. Therefore, Ebony's portrayal of success was always in accordance with white values.

In the first issue, November 1945, the editors said, "We're rather jolly folks, we Ebony editors. We like to look at the zesty side of life. Sure you can get all hot and bothered about the race question (and don't think we don't), but not enough is said about all the swell things we Negroes can do and will accomplish. Ebony will try to mirror the happier side of Negro life--the positive, everyday achievements from Harlem to Hollywood."[7]

This optimistic attitude was reflected in major features on black personalities, particularly in entertainment where there was a heavy concentration. The emphasis was on blacks who had made it, who had acquired all the symbols of success in the white world--big cars, beautiful homes, gorgeous wife and a colored maid and butler. Entertainers like Lena Horne, Hazel Scott, Sammy Davis and Eddie "Rochester" Anderson were regularly featured in pages of large, glossy pictures in the true Life format.

In the June 1948 issue of Ebony, publisher John H. Johnson wrote that "precisely because there is no composite Negro," Ebony would be "of, by, and for Negroes--for rich and for poor, for better or for worse." This lofty goal created an editorial dilemma for Ebony--how to represent the entire black community while presenting the "happier side" of Negro life. The result was a great exaggeration of the positive aspects of black life in America. The magazine was often criticized, justifiably, for being unrealistic, for treating success as an end in itself. The editors had a goal, however, and they pursued it with determined single-mindedness. In his analysis of Ebony and its readers, Paul Hirsch said, "Success and individual effort were always associated.

Success was treated as a rare and desirable good, achieved by self-made men and women." The magazine was a true proponent of the Protestant ethic in that the individual was always presented as the master of his fate. Ebony was constantly showing the reader successful role models and encouraging him to strive for the same rewards. Rarely was the reader offered a picture of failure.[8]

This formula is particularly identifiable in "Eddie Anderson Success Story: You Can Do it Too."[9] It is the rags to riches story of television's beloved Rochester, who sold newspapers as a boy and "picked himself up by his bootstraps." Page after page of pictures show Rochester living the life of ease and success in his expensive California dream house. Everything about Rochester's life is dreamy, according to the article. Pictures of Rochester's beautiful wife, Maymie, abound. And what is success without a beautiful wife? (White yardstick of success). In one picture, she is directing the colored maid's culinary activities, all the while dressed in a long, sexy, white gown. The cutline describes the "elegant kitchen" in glowing terms. Another picture shows the colored maid "serving soup to the head of the house"--or so the cutline reads. Eclipsing this charming portrayal of the good life, as enjoyed by Rochester, is a picture in which "Rochester talks politics to friends while Maymie listens quietly." Although it is obviously overstated, the moral is unmistakable; "Work hard, utilize your resources, and these rewards will also be yours."

Much of the language and editorial content of these early issues would probably be offensive to blacks today. By using "Negro" or "darker brothers" to refer to blacks, Ebony writers embrace the black identity established by whites. The slightly schizophrenic, or confused quality of these first issues is indicative of blacks' lack of self-identity during this period. While articles endorse white-oriented success symbols and values, the cartoons on the back cover ("Jivin' with Jackson") are a throwback to the old Negro stereotypes. Most of the models and personalities featured in these issues have physical characteristics similar to whites; yet the cartoon characters are just the opposite with very dark skin, wide noses and thick lips. In an April 1946 issue, a cartoon depicts a black sailor holding his girl in his arms. The caption reads, "Nothing can come between us." And then, with an eager glance toward the kitchen, "Um, is that chicken in the oven?"

The magazine celebrated blacks who make it in the white world and then perpetuated often derogatory stereotypes in its cartoons. One of the reasons for this disparity might be that Ebony was the only black magazine of its kind, and it was trying to please too many different types of readers. Ebony's initial confusion about its approach is indicated in its consistent appeal for reader response and its early "Backstage" columns in which the editors explained the difficulties of publishing the magazine. This column also was used to respond to reader criticisms and suggestions. As the magazine became more established, the tone of "Backstage" became more self-confident.[10]

When Ebony first appeared in 1945, it had no subscribers; it depended on newsstand sales. According to Executive Editor Herbert Nipsen, this system worked fine for the first six to eight years, after which sales began to decline. As a result, the magazine started sensationalizing. Hollywood, sex and cheesecake pictures were dominant. When the circulation continued to drop from 500,000 in the early 50's to 300,000 by 1954, the publisher changed tactics. Johnson decided that Ebony had to be a general interest family magazine with good editorial material. At this point, Ebony made a real attempt to get subscriptions. The effort paid off. In 1973, the magazine had 257,530 subscribers and a total paid circulation of 1,200,000.[11]

From this point, Ebony began to address itself more realistically to the needs and interests of the black population. It expanded its format to cover women's fashions, black society, food, black service men, and black problems. Up until the 1963 March on Washington, Ebony had encouraged blacks to work for civil rights within the status quo. Militancy was not a part of Ebony; the magazine told readers it was "up to the Negro to prove himself to the reasonable 'Mr. Charlie,' who would then regard him as an equal."

This attitude changed as more blacks became involved in the civil rights movement. Ebony began to raise questions about the Negro's condition in America and gave civil rights activities more coverage. Between 1963 and 1965, editorials became increasingly militant. Ebony has always been responsive to the mood of its readers; the magazine had a large middle class readership and a 1968 Harris Poll showed that the civil rights movement was most strongly supported by middle class blacks.

As the coverage of black protest increased, so did the emphais on the need for blacks to help themselves. Ebony began to endorse small families with articles on family planning and sex education. It also placed a greater emphasis on the need for a college education.

Today, Ebony seems to lack the strong sense of direction it demonstrated in the 60's. It is less obviously goal-oriented. Reginald Hayes said this is because there is no single issue around which blacks have rallied. There are no charismatic leaders, no Martin Luther Kings. "We don't have that statue," said Hayes. "We're more fragmented."

Hayes thinks Ebony's lack of one particular focus, like civil rights, is indicative of the nation as a whole. "I think that Americans at the present time are seriously looking around to see where they are," he said.

According to Hayes, a lot of gains made by blacks in the 60's were wiped out in the 70's under the Nixon administration. "This left a mark, a scar, an embitterment among many blacks--to have to fight a battle all over again. Especially among the young. We're faced with a tremendous alienation of our youth." Despite these problems, Hayes said Ebony will continue its efforts "to mirror the Black experience."

In its four years of publication, the editorial concept of Black Enterprise has remained basically the same. On the October 1970 "Publisher's Page," chairman of the board Henry G. Parks stated, "We as Black people must begin to welcome and accept increasing responsibilities. We must throw off the vestiges of the slave culture and the welfare mentality it induced. We need, desperately, to develop a class of Black merchants. Let's start with the gas stations, the taverns, the services (barber and beauty shops, cleaners), the franchisers, and then go on to develop larger entrepreneurships and move into corporate and other managerial posts."

This commitment to the development of a large class of black businessmen is basic to the magazine's editorial concept. It is reflected in articles which give advice on how to succeed in business, column which discuss the problems involved and profiles of black businessmen who have made it. According to managing editor Bob Imbriano, "Essentially, we're a how-to book. That's how we started out." He said Black Enterprise is still a how-to book but that the emphasis today is more on how to succeed in the corporate structure rather than on how to start a small business. When Black Enterprise started publishing, it was directed primarily at the basic level of business--the "Mom and Pop" operation.

Today, Imbriano said, "More Blacks are going into corporations at levels previously closed. So we're going in that direction." Basically, Black Enterprise has adjusted to the changing needs of its readers. As the audience began to include more professional and career persons, Black Enterprise became more sophisticated. However, "We're still not what I would call a really sophisticated magazine," said Imbriano, "because we have such a diverse audience." As Black Enterprise is the only national black business magazine, it must cater to a wide variety of interests; this need tends to limit the number of highly specialized, technical articles.

The magazine's editorial pages are generally moderate and reflect the logical reasoning one would expect of a business publication. Although editorials grapple with such problems as prejudice in the business world, they are intelligent and rational. For instance, an editorial in the March 1971 issue attacked the condescension and racism of white companies toward their black business contacts. The editorial claimed that when white companies decide to do business with a black person, they expect him to be a superman with more than the qualifications necessary to do the job. After a well-pointed attack, the writer concluded, "The Black man or woman who goes to a white company to bid for its contracts need have only one title after his name--qualified to do the job."

In addition to its regular departments ("Names in the News," "Making It," "Travel," "Bottom Line," "Business and the Law," "AID," "Washington Report," and "Personal Finance"), Black Enterprise features news of black businesses, both on-going and just starting; interviews with successful businessmen and authorities on business trends; and investigations of problems in different areas. Special issues devoted to careers, travel, and the 100 leading black businesses and businessmen are common and usually well-tailored to reader needs. For instance, a travel issue features resorts and tours that a black businessman and his family would particularly enjoy.

The monthly focuses for 1975 will continue to encourage the black businessman. The January issue will open with an awards issue recognizing "those men and women who have shown the most imagination, innovation and success in creating and promoting black economic opportunity. The February issue will feature an in-depth look at the medical profession and the professional in it. Also, a realistic survey of what it takes to get ahead in the world of medicine. The following months will cover an investigation of the executive recruiting business, black salesmen--who they are and how they do it, black artists and the investment value of art work.

Like Black Enterprise, Essence has been publishing since 1970. However, its editorial concept has changed as often as its editors. Essence's original founders had no magazine experience and were initially confused about the direction they should take, according to advertising manager

Thom Rivers. Since Essence was based in New York, where women are very fashion-conscious, the founders decided on a fashion emphasis. At this time, Ruth M. Ross was editor.

However, in letters to the editor, black women said they wanted more than a fashion magazine. Essence also had problems getting fashion advertising because it was a monthly with a three month closing date. Advertisers in the trendy fashion industry were reluctant to finalize ads so far in advance of publication.

When Ida Lewis took the editorial reins in July 1970, she shifted the focus to black awareness. As Rivers tells the story, the readers appreciated the new emphasis, but it got little advertising support. White advertisers couldn't relate to the book. At the same time, readers kept requesting that Essence continue in the same direction, but broaden its format.

In the summer of 1971, Ida Lewis left Essence for Encore, a new black news magazine, and Marcia Gillespie took over. She decided to keep the editorial emphasis on black awareness, but to make Essence a full service magazine for black women. Fashion remained a big part of the magazine but it also began to include substantive articles on a wide variety of subjects relevant to the lives of black women.

A booklet published by Essence Communications, Inc., defines the editorial objective today. "Essence magazine is a socially aware woman's service magazine whose purpose in life is to raise the level of expectation of black women and improve their self-esteem. Essence seeks to accomplish this objective by providing its readers with articles and features which reflect positive self-images. In this regard, Essence assists its readers to achieve a more fulfilled, harmonious life style."

In her May 1972 "Getting Down" column Gillespie wrote, "It is because we have decided not to allow ourselves to be counterfeit women, forced through the white Anglo-Saxon cookie cutter America has used on all her people, that Essence happened . . . Essence is not edited for those of us who sit back passively, hoping and waiting for a better day. It is edited by and for black women who are working for change now."

Essence is not a middle of the road magazine. Its editors are not afraid to attack social issues and often do so with righteous indignation and passion. With the occasional exception of editorial pieces, the writing is generally straightforward and objective.

Regular articles offer advice and information on education, careers, men and marriage, the black woman and women's liberation, day care centers, and other subjects of interest to black women. Articles on fashion, health, beauty care, food, travel and home furnishing are also carefully tailored to the needs and tastes of black women. Other monthly features include reviews of movies, records, plays and books, the "Essence Woman" (profile), "Consumer Corner," "You and Your Children," "Point of View," and "Men on Women." This broad format reflects Gillespie's statement that "Essence is striving to become a full service magazine. We wish to rejoice in the achievements of our brothers and sisters--present the issues that affect our lives, and discuss the problems and search out the possible solutions."

Advertising is one of the biggest problems of black magazines. White advertisers tend to lump all black magazines into one market rather than separating them according to the type of audience they reach. This forces black magazines to compete with each other for advertising dollars.

Advertisers are often reluctant to use black magazines because they claim that they can reach the same consumer through white media, at a lower cost per thousand. They either don't know, or ignore the fact, that the higher cost of reaching the black market is balanced by a higher incidence of sales results.

From his study of the black consumer market, Kevin A. Wall predicts that the developing consumer behavior of young black families will have a big effect on American marketing in the next 10 years. Wall points out that young blacks today are living in conditions that increasingly stimulate motivation. They are setting higher education, career, and economic goals for themselves and their children. He predicts that this emerging middle class will influence the consumer behavior of other blacks who follow them up the economic ladder.

The new patterns will be most significant in market categories with great growth potential for blacks, Wall said. He lists housing, cars, medical and personal care, clothing, accessories, home furnishing, home food, recreation, travel, liquor, entertainment, education, banking and credit cards as having the most potential.

Ebony, more than other black magazines has been able to cash in on the advertising potential of this growing middle class, because it appeals primarily to middle class blacks. According to Hayes, 88 per cent of the top U.S. advertisers advertise in Ebony. He added that the magazine depends on advertising for its profits, although revenue from newsstand sales and subscriptions helps defray costs. Hayes said Ebony is generally 60 per cent advertising and 40 per cent editorial material. Unlike many magazines today, Ebony has no intention of decreasing the amount of advertising and passing more costs on to the reader. The editors are satisfied with the existing arrangement and try to maintain a balance between the advertising and editorial content.

When Ebony started in 1945, it contained no advertising. In 1973, its ad revenue totaled $12,616,929. Of this total $11,153,852 came from less than full run ads, and $1,027,039 came from affiliated advertising.

Ebony's biggest product advertisers fall in the area of drugs and toiletries. The revenue from this product class totaled $2,502,688 in 1973, according toe Publisher's Information Bureau. PIB lists revenue from consumer services for that year at $1,266,242 and revenue from smoking materials at $1,108,141. The breakdown in order of decreasing revenue is given as follows: foods and beverages; automotive accessories and equipment; apparel, footwear and accessories; entertainment and amusement; household furnishings; jewelry, optical goods and cameras; sporting goods and toys; pets and pet supplies.

When Ebony first started to carry advertising, it had a real problem with the quality of the products being advertised and the ad content. Until the magazine established a wide audience, it was forced to accept ads from mail order houses and producers of novelties and gimmicks. In 1947, the number of reader complaints about Ebony's "gutter advertising" warranted a reply in the "Backstage" column of the May issue. The editors explained that they had initially rejected such advertising, but when they saw that it was accepted by other publications (i.e. Liberty, American Weekly, Parade), they decided they needed the ad dollars too much to refuse. After accepting the ads, the editors tried, without success, to get the advertisers to tone down the copy. *Ebony* finally cancelled one agreement for six more pages of ads.

The editors wrote, "In many ways this particular ad typifies the problems not only of *Ebony*, but of all Negro publications in getting decent copy. Many advertisers believe they must talk down to Negro readers and slant their ads accordingly. And because big advertisers of consumer items fail to recognize the immensity of the Negro market, which far exceeds Canada's total imports from the U.S., and are hesitant to buy space from colored newspapers and magazines, these publications must depend on Class B and Class C accounts."

Editor Nipson said *Ebony* no longer has a problem with ads talking down to readers. Instead, advertisers try too hard to "blackenize" their ads with slang. Nipson said the slang can be effective but often is not, because black slang differs greatly according to age, locale and education. He added that *Ebony* requires certain standards of decency and quality in its advertising today, but that the magazine could be rougher on copy. However, even today, *Ebony* can't always afford to turn down an ad.

Ebony's ad photos have changed significantly in its 20 years of publication. In a study of *Ebony*'s advertising, Ronald Geizer made some interesting discoveries about the models used between 1960 and 1969. Geizer came to four basic conslusions: the frequency of light-skinned black models was significantly lower in 1969 than in 1960, the frequency of dark-skinned black models was significantly greater in 1969, the frequency of white model ads was significantly less in 1969, and the frequency of mixed model ads was significantly greater in 1969. This shift in model types might be related to the editorial shift during this same period. As *Ebony* moved away from white values as a result of the civil rights movement and growing racial pride, the move was reflected in its advertising through the use of models who exemplified black, rather than white standards of beauty.

Black Enterprise and *Essence* didn't face quite the same advertising problems as *Ebony* because they started publishing in 1970, after black values and a black identity had been established. However, Bob Imbriano of *Black Enterprise* voiced a commonly heard complaint among black editors, "Advertisers tend to look at Black people as some sort of monolithic group." He said there is not a single black market, and current advertising strategy towards black people is invalid.

Despite these problems, *Black Enterprise* has enjoyed a significant increase in ad revenue over a five-year period. According to Imbriano, advertising revenue for the first year was approximately $1 million. In 1972 it was $1,874,301, and in 1973 it reached $2,626,677, according to PIB.

Imbriano added that *Black Enterprise* has always had a large number of corporate advertisers. A breakdown of advertising by products seems to bear this out. In 1973, *Black Enterprise* collected the most ad revenue from consumer services--$378,805. Smoking materials were next with $375,873, followed by automotive accessories and equipment with $265,775. According to PIB the remainder in order of decreasing revenue consisted of: sporting goods and equipment; foods and beverages; jewelry, optical goods and cameras; apparel, footwear and accessories; drugs and toiletries;

and household furnishings.

The magazine used to list its major advertisers as American Airlines, Coca-Cola, Brown and Williamson, Carter-Wallace, Faberge, Ford Motor Co., Liggit & Meyers, and Phillip Morris. Today, that list is much longer and more diversified. Liquor and cigarette ads are frequent as are large automobile ads for luxury-type cars. As Imbriano stated, there is a predominance of corporate advertising such as IBM, oil companies, investment companies, etc.

Black Enterprise generally uses black models or none at all in its ads. There is little evidence of slang, or particularly black figures of speech in the ad copy. It seems to be more business than black-oriented. For instance, an ad for a consulting agency in the November 1974 issue read, "You may be giving the government money the government wants you to keep." The rest of the copy went on to explain how the agency could save the businessman money. An airlines ad in the October 1970 issue read, "Maybe the best way to take care of your business is to get away from it." Again, the appeal was to the reader as a businessman rather than as a black person. Imbriano predicted that as Black Enterprise acquires more readers in corporations and the professions, the ads will become even more sophisticated in their content and appeal.

The advertising budget at Essence is improving according to ad manager Rivers. He said advertisers are becoming more aware and more willing to take advantage of the black consumer. He added that with money becoming tighter, advertisers are trying more than ever to reach as many people as possible with a small advertising budget; and they're doing this with specialized magazines with well-defined audiences.

Still, Essence has its problems, and they sound familiar. Advertisers who treat blacks as one market and agencies which don't even have "black budgets" are two. Rivers also complained that advertisers think they can effectively reach blacks through the white media, so they don't advertise with the black press, "even though Black women buy a lot more things proportionately than whites." He continued "Blacks overconsume on personal hygiene products but you don't see that much advertising aimed at the black consumer."

Getting advertisers to use black models used to be a problem, said Rivers, because it costs about $10,000 to create a new ad. Now, advertisers are beginning to realize that to be effective, the ad format must be acceptable to the consumer. Essence accepts integrated or product ads, but the general policy is to refuse ads which use only white models. Rivers said he has no great problem with ad copy as a lot of companies are using black agencies to reach the black consumer. He added that Essence uses more white than black agencies because there are more of them; also, black agencies tend to be smaller and locally oriented.

Essence usually has a 60:40 ad/editorial ratio, according to Rivers. It fluctuates according to the size of the book. An issue of Essence averages 96 pages; however, the August 1974 issue was only 80 pages, as there wasn't enough advertising to cover a larger book. An advertising pamphlet published by Essence claims that ad revenue was up 50 per cent in 1974 and that cosmetics, toiletries and fragrance sales continue to be leading contributors, accounting for 42 per cent of sales.

In view of the increasing ad revenue for these three black magazines, perhaps advertisers are at last beginning to recognize the potential of the black market. Market research and communications expert Dr. Lionel C. Barrow, Jr. says "It is no longer possible--if it ever was in America--for marketing or advertising executives to think of a single mass market for all products." Barrow said a segmented approach to marketing is desirable if the potential segments are: 1) easily recognized, 2) reasonably large and if 3) the consumption patterns differ substantially, or the reasons for consuming differ drastically between groups, or the language or images used differ.

Barrow contends that blacks meet these conditions. "That blacks are an easily recognized group in the U.S. goes without saying," he said. And "Blacks today represent at least a $46 billion market, an income greater than that of all but six nations in the world." He added that almost 28 per cent of black families earn $10,000 or more, with 10.6 per cent at the $15,000 or more level. Barrow pointed out that this earning level has been reached primarily because the black wife also works. Differences in consumption patterns and language differences between black and white people fulfills the third condition.

Black magazines' refusal to run ads with all-white models is intelligent and justifiable according to Barrow's theories. "The wrong way to use Black models are all around us," said Barrow, "using white models or simply replacing them with Black models but continuing to use the same themes and/or situations without having conducted any research to determine whether or not said themes or situations are understood in the same manner or acceptable to a black audience." Barrow cites a lack of research and a lack of "know-how" on the part of the white creative groups to which accounts are usually assigned as the major problems in reaching the black consumer. He advises advertisers to put more money and time into market research and to hire competent minority talent in order to reach the great advertising potential of the black market.

The black magazine reader is changing. Blacks today are more educated; they have greater cultural opportunities and they demand more from their magazines. Reginald Hayes claims that Ebony's audience changed more in the last 15 years than it did in the previous 100. "We have a younger, more fluent, better educated, more mobile audience than before," said Hayes. He added that the number of blacks in college doubled in the last five years and that the median annual family income of Ebony readers is about $8,700 today compared to $4,000 when Ebony began. He also cited 1971 U.S. Census statistics which indicate the total black population is younger than the total white population. For example, the 1971 median age of black males was 21.1 years; for white males, it was 27.7 years. The median age of black females in 1971 was 23.6 years and for white females, 30.4 years.

Ebony has always been sensitive to its readers because of its editorial concept. According to publisher Johnson, "Over the years, Ebony has changed with the changing aspirations of its readers. Blacks have become more aggressive in all areas of American life, and Ebony has broadened its format to reflect the contemporary aspirations of its readers."

In 1973, the editors contracted Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., to investigate the outlook, attitudes and commitments of the black community and to determine the extent to which Ebony readers are representative of the black community in these respects. The results indicated that Ebony is succeeding in its editorial objective.

According to the Yankelovich study, each of the four major trends occupying the black community can be found--manifested in the same manner and to the same degree--among regular Ebony readers. Second, while the black community watches television, listens to radio and reads mass publications, its closest ties and relationships are with its own black media. The "empathy" the black community feels towards black media far outdistances any of their feelings towards other media. Third, both Ebony and black radio enjoy a somewhat better reputation in the black community than local black newspapers. Fourth, Ebony's regular readers give it a somewhat higher rating on the key empathy issue than they accord even the other black media. And finally, the empathy that Ebony readers feel with the magazine is based on a strong, confident feeling that the magazine is relevant, talks their language, deals with the things that are important, and understands and represents black society.

Ebony's success at representing the black community may account for its increasing circulation. The average total paid circulation for the 12 months ending December 31, 1955, was 434,336, according to Magazine Circulation and Rate Trends 1940-1971. Subscriptions accounted for 13.5 per cent of the total and newsstand sales for 86.2 per cent. In 1965, the total paid circulation was 820,892. Subscriptions accounted for 71.3 per cent and newsstand sales for 28.5 per cent. This turn toward subscription sales was probably a result of Johnson's decision in the mid-50's to stop sensationalizing and create a general interest family magazine with a heavy subscription rate. In 1973, the average total paid circulation reached 1,261,351 with 20.4 per cent subscription and 79.6 per cent newsstand sales.

Black Enterprise is presently conducting a demographic survey according to Imbriano, so it is impossible to give statistics on its audience here. Generally speaking, readers of Black Enterprise include black businessmen, blacks interested in getting into business, and students. They are self-motivated and usually have at least a high school education and often a college degree. As of August 1, 1974 the circulation was 165,000.

Essence is directed to the young, urban, black female market. According to a study conducted for Essence by Erdos and Morgan in 1973, the magazine is reaching the readers it desires. "The Essence Woman," as defined by Erdos and Morgan, is "a young, black lady in her late twenties, with college education. The head of the household is employed in business or government; many are professionals. Her household income is higher than the average for the country as a whole." Erdos and Morgan further describe "The Essence Woman" as an avid consumer. "She uses many kinds of beauty and personal care aids and she is a frequent user of several of them, usually buying the leading brands." "She and/or her family own several cars and appliances, they patronize department stores and she makes, or helps to make most of the buying decisions." In addition, "She enjoys such good things in life as travel and other leisure time activities."

Essence Magazine's Basic Demographics

Age:

18-24 35.5%

25-34	31.3%
35-49	21%
50-64	7.9%

Median household income: $11,400

Marital status: 47% married, 35% single, 16% widowed, separated or divorced

88% high school graduates, 64% attended college
95% are employed
90% live in top Nielsen 30 D.M.A.
85% skilled, clerical, professional, business occupations
85% of married have children under 11 in household

The favorite editorial pieces of *Essence* readers are: Fashion--45 per cent, *Essence* Woman--45 per cent, Beauty--39 per cent, Civil Rights--34 per cent, and Health--33 per cent. "An advertiser is not going to reach her in *Cosmopolitan* (read by 17.8 per cent of the *Essence* subscribers) or *Glamour* (20.9 per cent) or *Mademoiselle* (10.5 per cent). Her address--and her heart--are here. In *Essence*."

Although it has a guaranteed circulation of 450,000 (up from 250,000 in 1973), *Essence* claims a readership of more than 2,000,000. Its newsstand sales increased from 68,000 monthly to 100,000 (up 47 per cent) for 1974. According to Audit Bureau of Circulation's "Fas Fax," *Essence* is the fastest growing women's magazine in the U.S., and the third fastest growing magazine in all categories.

It is difficult to compare *Ebony* and *Essence* to similar white magazines because there really are none. Since the demise of *Life* and *Look*, there are no general interest, pictorial magazines like *Ebony* among the white media. According to Hayes, the closest comparison would be *Time* and *Newsweek*, which also carry stories about the Black middle class. Aside from the obvious differences in size and layout, *Ebony* primarily differs from *Time* and *Newsweek* in its editorial approach. When *Ebony* covers a Black-oriented news event, it does it from a positive, Black perspective, whereas *Time* and *Newsweek* approach the story with the built-in prejudices (and objectivity, upon occasion) of the white media. Therefore, the emphasis in each story can be quite different.

Although *Essence* resembles white women's magazines in format, Rivers said it has no real white counterpart. *Essence* is a combination of the sex in *Cosmopolitan*, the beauty in *Glamour* and the practicality in *Family Circle* with a strong political emphasis. It is the only existing magazine for Black women and therefore has to perform the functions of all the women's magazines in the white media. The primary difference, however, is *Essence*'s strong social conscience and almost militant editorial position. Women's magazines, with the exception of *Ms.*, seldom invade the area of social injustice with such a well-defined editorial policy.

Black Enterprise can probably best be compared to *Business Week* as both are general business magazines. However, this focus was by choice for *Business Week* and by necessity for *Black Enterprise*. Because it is the only business magazine for Blacks, Black Enterprise editors must try and please everyone. Black Enterprise is also more of a business feature magazine, according to Imbriano. "We deal in personalities more than other business magazines," he said.

This is in the process of changing, as are quite a few things at Black Enterprise. The magazine has experienced a major staff turnover in the last year, and it is still trying to establish directions for the future. Imbriano said a definite format for the next few years is still being discussed although whatever the outcome, "We want to retain our own image." As of December 1974, the staff was trying to figure out the budget.

Imbriano said one of the magazine's major problems is lack of sufficient staff members to do the job right. The editorial staff presently consists of nine persons, said Imbriano, two of whom are writers. He added that it is difficult to come up with data for many stories and the staff is too small to permit much original research. Imbriano said that he needs four or five writers to do a good job.

He cited several changes for Black Enterprise in the near future, primarily in its visual concept. First of all, the magazine will use a larger body type than its present eight-on-ten Vega. Imbriano thinks switching to a nine-on-eleven Times Roman will make the magazine easier to read. The magazine will also begin to use concept photography, expressing abstract ideas through photographs. Imbriano said none of the other Black magazines currently use it. He also hopes to use more and better color pictures.

In the editorial department, Imbriano said he plans to use more short, crisp, concise articles. "A lot of our stories read like they were written for a school paper," he said. He hopes that this and more colorful writing will pick up the tempo of the magazine. And finally, he wants to abandon much of the general, overview type stories the magazine has featured in the past, in favor of in-depth, investigative writing. "Before, we were trying to tell people what to do because they needed the information," he said. The reader has changed somewhat now, and Black Enterprise must change with him.

Imbriano sees advertising and personnel as the greatest problems of Black magazines today. He said that Black magazines only recently were able to publish and that there are not enough good, qualified Black writers, reporters and editors to serve the needs of the Black population.

Hayes also labeled advertising as a grave problem. He said that magazines rest on a three-legged stool of advertising, circulation and editorial policy and "something always needs adjusting." So far, Ebony has been able to sustain its position as a viable advertising vehicle, but Hayes complained that Ebony is not self-sufficient -- its financial position depends too much on advertising.

Hayes said that Black magazines are more vulnerable to economic trends than the white media, that Black magazines are unable to sustain economic shocks over a long period of time. Like most magazines, Ebony is feeling the current economic crunch. Hayes said that when he sends letters to former subscribers asking why they didn't renew this year, 75 per cent reply that they wanted to but just didn't have the money. Nevertheless, Ebony is still in a sound financial position, according to Hayes, and has recovered from a 1973 slump.

As far as the future is concerned, Hayes said Ebony will pursue its editorial goal "to mirror the Black experience." Over the last ten years, the magazine has put a lot of emphasis on Black identity, history, and heritage. Hayes predicted the magazine will move away from this as the concerns of the Black population are changing. He cited declining enrollment in Black studies at the nation's universities as evidence of this trend. "The pendulum swings both ways," said Hayes. "We've gone through integration, liberation and separatism...I think the next move for Blacks in America is consolidation. Someone has to sit down now and assess our position." Whatever that position may be, the editors are determined to reflect it in the pages of Ebony.

No major changes are in the near future for Essence, according to Rivers, although the number of pages will probably increase. The average right now is 96 pages and the editors would like to increase it to 123. Rivers predicted that while Essence will remain the same, the company will launch other magazines - a Black Seventeen for instance.

"Things are working, but things aren't working the way we'd like for them to be working," said Rivers. "We still have to bang on too many doors," referring to advertising. He too, cited personnel and advertising as the greatest problems in Black publishing. Said Rivers, "The money's the whole thing."

Although the world of minority publishing has changed considerably since the day when John H. Johnson borrowed a few hundred dollars from his mother to launch Ebony, all of the needs of the Black population are not being met. And how can they, when there are approximately 20 magazines for some 20 million people? The audiences of Black magazines like Ebony, Essence and Black Enterprise are too diverse, creating great problems in establishing editorial goals. As Rivers said of Essence, "We think we have a pretty captive audience." Rivers added that Essence can't possibly satisfy all of its readers' needs; the editors have to decide what they want to do and hope enough readers are satisfied.

The need for Black magazines is greater today than ever before, said Rivers, because the Black population is more educated, and as people acquire more education, they read more and watch less television. Rivers also said the white media seems to have become more responsive and objective in its treatment of Blacks; he attributed this to the Black press. When the white media was confronted with the success of Black magazines like Essence, it started featuring Blacks on covers, in ads and in articles in an attempt to regain some of the ad revenue it lost to the Black press.

Hayes also feels the need for Black magazines still exists, and will continue to exist for some time. "The white press doesn't have the guts to write about Black people," he said. "Their readers don't want to show examples of Black achievement in all areas of life. We had to do this because the white-oriented media consistently refused to do this." He added, "We've often said that if Ebony didn't exist, someone would have to publish it."

If the establishment press is beginning to cover the interests of Black people and treat them more objectively, one wonders if there will always be a need for Black-oriented magazines like Ebony, Essence, and Black Enterprise. Is it possible that they would cease publication or evolve a non-racially oriented editorial focus? Reginald Hayes answers the question this way: 'When Time magazine becomes a magazine which deals with Black people...

NOTES

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[3] Fred Fedler, "The Media and Minority Groups: A Study of Adequacy of Access," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 109-117.

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[5] Kevin A. Wall, "New Market: Among Blacks the Haves are Overtaking the Have-Nots," Advertising Age, February 11, 1974, pp. 35-6.

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[8] Paul M. Hirsch, "An Analysis of Ebony: The Magazine and its Readers," Journalism Quarterly, Summer 1968, pp. 261-270.

[9] "Eddie Anderson Success Story: You Can Do It Too," Ebony, November 1945.

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[11] Magazine Circulation and Rate Trends 1973, Association of National Advertisers, Inc.

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[21] Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., "Minority Media Means Money," Summary of Remarks at Conference, May 1971.

[22] John H. Johnson, president, Johnson Publishing Co., Remarks During Henry Johnson Fisher Award Luncheon, September 22, 1972.

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Avoiding the Image of "House Organs": Elks Magazine, Kiwanis Magazine, The Rotarian

by Arline L. Datu

Publications such as Elks Magazine, Kiwanis Magazine, and Rotarian are not to be mistaken as ordinary house organs providing news pertinent only to their respective organizations. Each one was first published between 1910 and 1925. The first issue of Elks Magazine stated that it was not to be "a mere bulletin or calendar of events, but a vigorous, high class, literary and fraternal journal the contents of which will render it worthy of a place upon any library table."[1] The other two publications, in their first few years, served primarily to convey association news to members. But gradually the function of each was expanded and more broadly defined. The original editor of The Rotarian, Chesley Perry, early realized "that a publication devoted entirely to Rotary matters would lead to a narrowing point of view in the members of an organization with the avowed purpose of striving for a broader outlook."[2] During the 1918 annual Kiwanis convention, one member noted to the assembly that their magazine "must be a journal of high standard. It must be professionally edited, and must not be political, personal, narrow, or sectional."[3]

So it is, these magazines today balance association news with articles and features appealing to the general public. Among them there are many similarities. Like other magazine publications, they all carry advertising. Essentially, each has a controlled circulation composed primarily of its particular organization's members. In their development, they all went through several physical changes, each working toward the same goal--to provide a more attractive and up-to-date publication. But whatever similarities they may share, each has established a distinct concept and personality in serving and catering to the interests of its own particular audience.

Elks Magazine was established in 1922 as the official publication of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. Its concept then and now is "to reflect the great community services of the lodges as well as the national scope of the order"[4] and to provide thought-provoking, entertaining general interest articles. Its very first issue carried a general interest feature. Issues throughout the 1930's and 40's carried as many as 80 to 90 pages of feature articles and association news. Color was introduced in the mid 1940's but used sparingly. By the 1950's, the magazine had dropped to an average of 55 pages. Advertising accounted for 40 per cent of content. Twenty per cent was devoted to departments and columns. The remaining pages were almost equally split between association news and general interest features. Feature articles ran 2500 to 3000 words.

The scope of general interest material from 1950 to 1970 has been very broad and has included fiction (short stories), articles on sports, business, current events, and adventure stories. Titles of a few are: "Knight of the Plains" -- a history of horses in the West; "Baseball's Hall of Fame"; "Northwest Territory and the Yukon: Land of Mystery"; "Basketball's Storybook Champs"; "Small Stake in Big Business"; "Turmoil in the Near East."

Today, Elks Magazine runs from 52 to 68 pages. Forty-five to fifty per cent of this is advertising. Departments and columns represent 14 per cent. These include letters to the editor, columns on sports, business, and gardening, and an editorial page. Association news and general interest features receive a little less than 20 per cent each. Articles cover a range of interests, usually on what is most current or entertaining.

Some of these are: "ERTS: Earth Resource Technology Satellite"; "Wanted: Veterinarians"; "Beefalo"; "The General and the Pirate" - Andrew Jackson and Jean Lafitte; Indonesia -- "Land of the Never Ending Summer." Other articles have dealt with conversion to the metric system, taxes for shoplifting, continuing education for the elderly, fighting forest fires, patents for new inventions. Short-story fiction also appears quite frequently on editorial feature pages.

Elks Magazine uses four-color photographs as well as illustrations for its covers. Four-color is not used in the body; one-color illustrations appear occasionally. Feature layouts are attractive but use very few photographs and are set in three columns. There is no distinct section of editorial feature material because articles are not grouped together. Space is alternately given over to departments and columns or association news. Pages devoted to the association very often include a large number of black and white photographs showing groups of people. Layouts for these pages aren't as attractive as feature pages and look more cluttered. Columns and departments use the same distinctive headline type, but type size for body copy is smaller than that used for the rest of the magazine. Copy looks cramped and is not as easy to read. Advertising runs throughout the magazine, both in columns and on full pages. A multi-page spread of advertising occurs near the middle of the book.

General Manager William Magrath, who joined the magazine's staff in 1927 and moved to his present position in 1952, feels that the Elks publication is a "leader in the fraternal field." Magrath's job is to oversee the entire editorial and advertising operation. The magazine has no editor as such. Articles editor, D. J. Herda, functions in that capacity. It is his job to coordinate layout and editorial content of the magazine. He and Magrath together decide on the kinds of feature articles that will go into each issue.

After serving 23 years on the magazine, Magrath has very definite ideas about its character and approach. He feels it should publish articles which look ahead and anticipate trends. He maintains Elks Magazine has consistently kept readers well informed on upcoming issues and events. An important consideration is the readability of the magazine. Magrath believes that most of the readers do not want articles that are too intellectual or high brow. "They read the magazine for relaxation and entertainment." Editorial content should therefore be "easily assimilated." Positive reader response through letters has convinced Magrath that he is right.

Another point Magrath makes is that because the magazine was established as "a common line of communication for members," each of them has a right to some exposure in the magazine. Thus, pictures which are sent in by local Elks lodges are often published.

Magrath explains that editorial content has changed its focus in recent years. The trend now is not only to entertain but to educate the reader through more informative and in-depth articles. But the magazine still avoids controversial issues as well as politics and religion. Herda notes other recent changes in the magazine, specifically in layout and design. He feels they're "unified and more pleasing." Magrath says he would like to see more color in the magazine, but there isn't enough money presently.

The magazine has a Publication Commission, somewhat like a board of directors, made up of Elks members. But the commission screens none of the editorial material, and the organization exerts no direct control over magazine content. According to Magrath, that is left entirely to the discretion of the magazine staff. He says there has never been any conflict since the goals of the staff coincide with the goals of the organization.

Besides Magrath and Herda, the magazine staff includes a fraternal news editor, an art director, and two assistants. Most of the feature articles are written by regular outside contributors. Fraternal news is staff-written.

According to a 1974 Starch Primary Magazine Audience Report for Elks Magazine, median income of readers is $14,085 with 17 per cent making $25,000 and over. Median age is 52.8. Eighty-one per cent are married. A little over 45 per cent are college educated. Professionals and executives comprise 45.9 per cent of the readers. Distribution of readership is almost evenly split between those living in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas.

In the areas of greatest consumer expenditures: 77.2 per cent are homeowners; 69.2 per cent own power lawn mowers; 93.2 per cent have cars; 63.9 per cent have credit cards; 57.6 per cent indulge in vacation travel; 64.7 per cent own a color television; 40.4 per cent like to fish; 80.8 per cent drink alcoholic beverages; 44 per cent are cigarette smokers.

Average total paid circulation for 1973 was 1,522,604[5] which included membership as well as 163 individual subscriptions. Circulation has shown no significant increases in the past four years. Basic subscription price for one year is $2.00. Members pay $1.00 which is included in their dues.

The magazine is supported through organization funds as well as through subscriptions and advertising. According to advertising manager Jack Ryan, ad revenues have risen steadily since 1939. In 1973, total advertising revenue reached $900,000; this year's figures are around $1,000,000. Greatest amount of revenue comes from direct response advertisers, insurance companies, business equipment companies, and advertisers for business opportunities and ventures.[6]

Advertising rates will go up 10 per cent next year because of paper and production costs.[7] Present cost for one page, black and white is $4,050; four-color is $4,650. Split runs and regional editions for the western, central, and eastern sectors are also available. A separate rate card for the mail order or "Elks Family Shopper" section is also sent to advertisers. Promotion includes three four-page brochures directed to advertisers in the travel, sports and recreation, and small business market. Ad representatives are located in New York and Los Angeles.

Kiwanis Magazine first appeared in 1918 as a 24-page newsletter for the Kiwanis organization. Its first editor, up until 1949, was Roe Fulkerson. The publication went through a gradual evolution beginning in the 1920's when it printed an article from its first non-staff contributor. He was a Kiwanis member. By the 1940's, the magazine was accepting articles from people who were not Kiwanis members but were in related service-oriented fields. It wasn't until 10 years later that the first general interest features, written by free-lance writers, began to appear.

The magazine, at the time, was 48 pages. A little more than 40 per cent was devoted to general interest features, 20 per cent to advertising, and the rest went to association news. Length of features varied from 2500 to 3000 words. Today the magazine is still 48 pages. It is published monthly except for the December-January and July-August combined issues. It is edited for business and professional men in community affairs and for their families. From the time it first appeared, the underlying concept of the magazine has been service to the community. Articles published in the magazine fall into two categories: "serious" and "light" nonfiction. Those appearing through the 1950's and 60's dealt with hospital mental wards, air pollution, crime in prison, jury duty and on the lighter side, the game of marbles, parlor games, how to cope with a bore. Some of the more recent articles have been concerned with noise pollution, business arbitration, diplomatic kidnappings, methadone maintenance treatment, the 4-day, 40-hour workweek and new trends in health care.

Advertising now takes up 35-40 per cent of the magazine, association news is limited to 20 per cent, and 40 per cent is still devoted to feature articles. The magazine, today, is quite attractive and sophisticated in appearance. Four-color is used on the cover and inside the magazine. Cover subjects are interesting and attention-getting, and usually tie in to one of the features. Cover logo as well as inside column logos are bold and strong in character. Pages are attractively laid out with imaginative illustrations and good black and white photography. Color illustrations are used for features which are set in three columns. Well-balanced use of white space contributes to a clean, uncluttered look. Advertising is carried in the front and back of the book, leaving the midsection for purely editorial feature material. The only flaw in appearance, if it can be called that, is the small amount of leading between lines of print, making copy difficult to read.

Dave Williams is editor of Kiwanis Magazine. He originally came to work for the publication in 1970 as assistant editor, assuming his present duties in February 1974. Williams directs much of his energy and talent toward creating "strictly a reader's magazine." Each issue carries approximately five feature articles, but Williams would like to have at least one more. The major problem is page limitation he says--the magazine should be expanded to 56-64 pages.

Although the publication has commitments to promoting Kiwanis' programs and activities, Williams feels there should be "something that makes the reader open the magazine." The general interest articles, he says, are vital in marshaling readership for Kiwanis issues.[8] But rising costs prevent any such changes in the near future.

In determining what kind of articles will go into the magazine, Williams says he has no problem with organizational control. "We want to preserve what we have. We have the same goal, and we're not going to run anything they don't want." R. P. Merridew, who holds the title of executive editor and is a Kiwanis member, serves as an advisor to the magazine staff. As the organization's representative, he has final say on what articles will go into the magazine.

As an indication of the magazine's success among readers, Williams notes it has a high pass-on rate. He receives letters from members' wives and schoolchildren, commenting on feature material. He says Kiwanis also urges members to promote the magazine through gift subscriptions for schools and libraries.

Williams and two assistant editors make up the editorial staff; three people are in art and production. Feature articles are written by a dozen regular outside contributors. The preferred length for articles is 2000 to 2500 words. Payment ranges from $200 to $500 depending on quality, length, and demand for the material. Writer specifications atate:

> In all cases, treatment must be objective and in-depth, and each major point should be substantiated by illustrative examples and quotes from persons involved in the subject or qualified to speak on it, both pro and con. The question "why" should be as important as "what," and perceptive analysis and balanced treatment are strongly valued. Serious articles should avoid intrusions of the writer's personal opinions.

According to a 1973 Target Group Index (TGI) Summary Report profiling the readers of Kiwanis Magazine: 87 per cent of the respondents are married; 21 per cent are professionals; 25.8 per cent are manager/proprietors; 24.8 per cent have incomes between $15,000-$24,999; 75.6 per cent own their own homes; 27.8 per cent have homes valued between $15,000-$24,999; 50.5 per cent read magazines more often than they use other media.

In the area of consumer expenditures: 24.5 per cent own two cars; 31 per cent travel for business/personal reasons; 67.6 per cent have medical/hospital insurance; 54.7 per cent have home insurance; 68.4 per cent use credit cards; 18.9 per cent are members in country clubs.

Average total paid circulation for Kiwanis Magazine as of June 1974 is 268,562.[9] This includes membership subscriptions, 12,349 from Canadian members, as well as 14,037 bulk and 70 individual subscriptions. Cost for one year is $2.50, members pay $2.00 which is in addition to club dues. Increases in circulation over the past three years have been insignificant.

Kiwanis includes the magazine in its annual budget. Other sources of income for the magazine are subscriptions and advertising revenue. It is not published for profit. In 1973, a total of 150 pages of advertising were run with gross revenue amounting to $244,000.[10] According to advertising manager, Burt Harris, ad revenues have gone up consistently in the past 10 years. One reason for this, he explains, is a "realighment of sales objectives and a more aggressive knock-on-doors approach."

It also appears, however, that advertising rates have gone up. In

1972, total ad pages run was 167 with gross revenues at $210,000. The present rates for a one-page black and white ad is $1,450--for four-color, the cost is $2,400. Regional editions, split runs and inserts are also available. Tobacco, liquor, and pharmaceutical advertising is not accepted. Advertisers using the greatest number of pages are business equipment/services, insurance investment, travel, government/civic, household and wearing apparel.

Promotions include subscription to TGI, a demographic survey made available to advertising agencies, and ads run in the Standard Rate and Data Service catalogs. Five advertising representatives are located in New York, Florida, and California.

The Rotarian was first published in January 1911 as a 12-page newspaper, then called The National Rotarian. At the time, editor Chesley Perry noted, "This little journal is an experiment...it was rather hurriedly thrown together and is susceptible of many improvements if we are encouraged to get out another issue."[11] Two issues later, the publication adopted a magazine format. The following year, Perry approached Rotary's founder, Paul Harris, with the question "of devoting considerable space to matters of general interest." His purpose was to "enlighten members" on subjects "pertaining to public affairs or the welfare of the community and the nation."

Chesley felt this was vital to the furtherance of Rotary goals which were then and still are today (1) the advancement of international understanding; (2) better vocational relationships; (3) better community life and (4) better human relationships. These four areas are inherent to the magazine's editorial concept.

The magazine progressed rapidly under subsequent editors. The first four-color cover appeared in 1924, regular use of full color came in the late 1930's, and in 1933 the Spanish edition Revista Rotaria was established.

In the 1950's, the editorship was assumed by Karl Krueger. Under his guidance, the magazine underwent several physical changes to become essentially the magazine it is today. He retired as editor in 1973.

Through the 1950's-1960's, the magazine was 64-78 pages. Association news represented 40 per cent of editorial content. Advertising's share was 10 per cent. Fifty per cent was devoted to general interest features which were 2000 to 2500 words. Articles were predominatly international in scope, several slanted toward the theme of "service." These dealt with: peaceful uses of atomic energy (after Hiroshima), helping the blind, orphans in Korea, the European common market, ecology/conservation, the World Health Organization. There were also several special issues highlighting different countries, peoples, and cultures. Other features concerned mountain climbing, new uses for closed circuit television, community theatre, preparing children for college. Some contributors were well-known personalities such as actress Helen Hayes, Pulitzer Prize winning author William Saroyan, or Sir John Hunt, leader of the 1953 Mt. Everest Expedition.

Today The Rotarian runs an average of 56 pages. Twenty-five to 35 per cent of that is advertising. Close to 30 per cent is association news, and 40 per cent is general interest features. In keeping with the concept to promote international understanding and brotherhood, some of the magazine's recent articles were: "War, Peace, and the U.N."; "Journey Between Two Chinas"; "Humanizing the Earth."

Special issues have been devoted to four or five features on: "This Hungry World"; "Alcoholism: Problem and Progress"; "Earth: Toward Ruin or Renaissance"; "The Handicapped: Who's Helping?"; "Old Age: The Age of Individualism." Features have also dealt with career counseling for young people, vocational education for high-school dropouts, city planning, crime prevention, pollution control and new educational methods. The roster of recent contributors includes Arnold Toynbee, Ray Bradbury, Kurt Vonnegut on "The Power to Die"; Alvin Toffler on "Future Shock"; S. I. Hayakawa on "The Lost Art of Listening"; and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Editorial content also includes poetry but no fiction, cartoons, a humor page, and letters to the editor.

The Rotarian has the definite look and feel of a quality magazine. It is printed on good paper stock. Four-color is used extensively throughout the magazine in photographs--several of them are used, including black and white; there are few illustrations. Covers are usually photographs in four-color, and are related to an article or theme in the magazine. Layouts are unconventional and striking--headlines appear in several different type faces and sizes, white space is generously spread throughout the editorial feature section, photographs are interesting and imaginative. Feature articles appear in two-column formats; the rest of the magazine in three. A bulk of the advertising appears in the front and back of the book. Occasionally, an ad will appear on the center page spread, but otherwise the mid-section contains only feature articles.

The Rotarian is published monthly as the official publication of Rotary International, a world fellowship organization. Its subscribers are from all over the globe in 155 countries and geographical regions. "It is edited to the personal and business interests and activities of business and professional members of Rotary and their families."[12]

Editor Willmon White started with the magazine in April 1973 as an associate editor, then moved to his present position when Karl Krueger retired. White says he and his staff have complete freedom in editing the magazine. "Rotary is a fairly conservative organization, but it leaves us alone ... very independent." He has, however, received some minor static from readers concerning articles dealing with controversial subjects. His personal opinion is that the magazine "ought to be able to deal with subjects and issues that are going to upset people (controversies) for purposes of discussion and debate ... the magazine ought to be a forum for many views."

The Rotarian is unique in sending out promotional pieces to encourage Rotary members to read the magazine. Each local club has a magazine chairman whose responsibility is to coordinate activities and discussions related to the magazine. White's attitude toward the magazine is that "it can be an agent--a catalyst--to move Rotarians to do things."

With a 56-page limitation, White feels, the magazine can little afford to be just entertainment. "You have to narrow your sights on what you can be to your reader ... you can't be everything." In The Rotarian, "Every article we carry has to do some kind of job."

White talks about making additional improvements in the magazine. "I'm very interested in integrating and modernizing the design. It needs a more integrated, unified, clean look." The most recent improvement was what White calls "the detrashing of the magazine"--association news which previously had been scattered throughout the magazine is now concentrated in one section. Editorially, White is also concerned with getting into "issues with more depth, relating them in a tighter way to Rotary." He refers to The Rotarian as a highly specialized magazine which needs to concentrate more specifically on its audience. The present editorial approach, he feels, leans more toward a "shotgun technique," but he would like it to have the "accuracy of a rifle shot." He also believes the magazine has done a professional job up to now in presenting general interest articles.

White relies on a staff of 11, including five assistant editors, one of whom speaks Spanish and is assigned to Revista Rotaria. According to White, each assistant editor is assigned a "beat." If the magazine were just a house organ, White feels it would be hard to keep good editorial people. Ideas for articles are generated and sometimes written by the staff.

According to a 1969 market study[13] of The Rotarian's U.S. audience: 78 per cent live in towns with populations under 100,000; 96 per cent are married; 52 years is the median age; 80 per cent attended college and 59 per cent graduated; 90 per cent own their own home with median value $32,193; median income is $20,083 (70 per cent over $15,000 and 49 per cent over $20,000); 66 per cent are in business; 50 per cent hold one or more community offices; 47 per cent are company owners or officers; 15 per cent are managers; 21 per cent are professional men.

Seventy per cent own two or more cars. An average of $369 per reader was spent on sports equipment in 1968. Heaviest expenditures were for golf clubs, fishing gear, shotguns, rifles, and boats. Seventy-five per cent average 13 airline flights in a year (including family members); 54 per cent take two or more vacations a year; 40 per cent belong to a country club; and 44 per cent have one or more general credit cards (American Express, Carte Blanche or Diners).

Ninety-four per cent read The Rotarian at home. Median reading time is 40 minutes. Sixty-two per cent of the wives are regular readers. Three out of four readers of The Rotarian are not covered by any one of the leading business magazines (including Nation's Business, Business Week, and Fortune).

Average total paid circulation as of June 1974 is 449,296.[14] This includes 586 individual and 31,091 bulk subscriptions. Of the association subscriptions, 70,292 represent members in foreign countries where it is not compulsory to subscribe. There have been no significant increases in circulation in the past four years. Subscription cost for members and individuals is $2.50 per year; foreign subscriptions are $3.00.

According to advertising manager Larry Klepfer, The Rotarian "tries to pay for itself" through subscriptions and advertising. But in 1974, advertising revenues dropped five per cent from the previous year, and Klepfer says, the budget went into the red.

In order to balance the budget next year, he speculates that subscription as well as advertising rates may have to go up. He says, with the present page limitations, The Rotarian doesn't carry enough general interest articles. Advertisers find it difficult to relate to Rotary-oriented articles, he adds.

A related problem Klepfer sees is the magazine's low priority among advertisers. "The Rotarian isn't the basic medium for selling advertising. Advertisers go to mass media magazines or television. We're last on their list." The advertisers they do get use The Rotarian to reach businessmen in medium-sized and smaller towns. Another problem was overcoming advertisers' preconceptions of Rotarian as an unattractive house organ. "We've broken through many times, but it's a tough fight."

According to Klepfer, because of the necessity to economize, The Rotarian has not only had to maintain a 48-page limit, but also has had to change its printing process and switch to a lighter-weight paper.

General advertising policy states, "The magazine shall actively solicit high-grade advertising from reputable advertisers of worthy goods and services. Advertising copy must be consistent with the editorial policy of the magazine." The Rotarian's largest advertisers are in the business equipment and services field and in the field of travel and transportation. Advertising is solicited through representatives in New York, Atlanta, Miami, Houston, Los Angeles, Minnesota, and Tokyo.

Promotional pieces are one-page foldout brochures directed to the business and travel markets. A special ad promotion campaign is conducted yearly before Rotary's convention week. In addition to its participation in TGI, The Rotarian authorized a survey of its readers by Erdos and Morgan, Inc., media researchers. Their findings have been compiled for the advertiser's use.

Present advertising rates are: one page, black and white--$2,180; one page, four-color--$3,190. The Rotarian also runs two ad classification sections--a "Where To Stay" directory and "Sale By Mail." Split runs, inserts, and special space units (multi-spreads, gatefolds, etc.) are also available.

These three publications pool together a sampling of some of the aspects of fraternal/civic news journals. There are several similarities as there are differences among them. Perhaps the greatest similarity is in the attitude toward the general interest article. Each editor feels it is an important and necessary aspect to his own magazine. Yet in each case, the editor's view of what its function should be is different. William Magrath feels the general interest article should be thought-provoking yet entertaining, avoiding direct or indirect ties to the Order of Elks. For Dave Williams, the underlying concept is to provide the general interest article, not for its sake alone, but as a means to draw the Kiwanis member into the magazine to read association news as well. To Willmon White, the general interest article is a vehicle for promoting Rotary ideals.

It is interesting to note that Elks Magazine carries a comparatively lower percentage of feature articles than either Kiwanis Magazine or The Rotarian. Although it does carry "pure" feature articles, it appears overall to be edited for Elks members alone. This is not to say that the other two magazines don't edit for their respective reader/members. But Elks Magazine, in general appearance, is not as attractive as either of the other two in layout or photography. Despite its feature articles, its appeal to the general public is doubtful. But this is not of major concern to its editors, and perhaps, that should be the case.

Both Kiwanis Magazine and The Rotarian actively seek a general public audience. Gift subscriptions are sent to hospitals, schools, libraries, etc. Elks Magazine does not do this. It has in the past, however, consistently improved its layout and photography, and may yet compete graphically with The Rotarian and Kiwanis Magazine.

Financially, the story is quite different. Elks Magazine has the largest advertising revenues as well as the largest "average paid circulation." The Rotarian appears to be faring the worst. Although it is the most attractive and creative of the three, this year's advertising revenues have put its budget in the red. Kiwanis Magazine has had no problem staying within its budget. Its advertising revenues have been steadily rising, although they are somewhat lower than Elks Magazine revenues. Overall, Kiwanis Magazine represents a "happy medium" by virtue of achieving an attractive format without overstepping its budget.

All three magazines carry virtually the same kinds of advertising. However, Elks Magazine carries a greater percentage of mail-order/direct response ads. The more reputable advertisers tend to dominate the ad pages of The Rotarian and Kiwanis Magazine. This perhaps indicates that Elks Magazine is less selective in the kinds of advertising it solicits, and perhaps this is necessary for survival.

Ad revenues, however, do not have to be a magazine's only source of income. In the case of the fraternal/civic publications, each might look to its subscribers for additional revenue by raising subscription rates. As long as each of them strives toward editorial and graphic excellence, this is only justified. It is in achieving excellence as magazines and not as house organs that they can garner for themselves a greater number of the reputable advertisers, thus increasing their prestige as well as their ad revenues.

In general, the fraternal/civic publications have recognized and defined their function as going beyond that of a house organ. Editorially and graphically, they have come a long way in their histories as magazines. They do have a place in the magazine field as specialized publications directed to unique audiences. That each magazine has maintained a commitment to its particular organization as well as pursued a standard of excellence in editorial content and graphics is to be commended.

NOTES

[1] Elks Magazine, June 1922.

[2] "Rotary's Magazine Week," The Rotarian, January 1975.

[3] Oren Arnold, The Widening Path: An Interpretative Record of Kiwanis, Kiwanis International, 1949.

[4] Elks Magazine, December 1954.

[5] Audit Bureau of Circulations, Audit Report for Elks Magazine, June 30, 1974.

[6] Advertising Information from advertising director Jack Ryan.

[7] "1974 Rate and Circulation Announcement," Elks Magazine.

[8] Dave Williams, "Editorial Highlight Report," May 1974.

[9] Audit Bureau of Circulations, Audit Report for Kiwanis Magazine, June 30, 1974.

[10] "Association of Industrial Advertisers Media Data Form," Kiwanis Magazine.

[11] "Rotary's Magazine Week."

[12] Index of Farm and Consumer Publications, Standard Rate and Data Service.

[13] "A Market for the 70's," A profile of readers of The Rotarian, Erdos and Morgan, Inc., Independent Research Specialists, New York.

[14] Audit Bureau of Circulations, Audit Report for The Rotarian, June 30, 1974.

Regional Lifestyles: Better Homes and Gardens. Southern Living. Sunset

Susan Allen

For almost 40 years, only one magazine stood as a serious challenge to the idea that people interested in improving their homes all lived the same way. Sunset's financial success was the exception which proved the rule, based as it was on the eccentricities of Americans on the West Coast. But as 1974 draws to a close, Southern Living begins its tenth year of publication. The idea that a smaller number of readers bound together only by geography can support a publication which devotes itself to their differing interests has taken hold.

The trend in publishing toward special interest groups and the problems of mass circulation magazines no doubt support the success of this idea. But something else is necessary; the combination of fulfilling readers' needs and attracting advertisers to those readers. By comparing these two regional publications and their similarity to Better Homes and Gardens, a long established and successful national magazine, some of the reasons for their success may emerge.

The three have interesting historical links. When the Meredith Publishing Company first published Better Homes in 1921, a man named Larry Lane was a member of its advertising staff. Seven years later he left the main office in Des Moines for San Francisco where, as advertising director, he planned to open the regional sales office of the magazine.

1922

As the story goes, Lane thought the lifestyle of westerners was so different that the region needed its own magazine. He hit upon the idea of combining the editorial concepts of two magazines: Better Homes' focus on home activities and the regional focus of Successful Farming, a magazine for the rural Midwest.[1]

"Lane tried to sell Meredith on a western edition of Better Homes," as Chicago advertising representative Dave Allen tells it, "but, like most people, he was reluctant to change a good thing."

So Lane left Better Homes and bought the financially strapped literary magazine Sunset. It was the failing descendant of the Southern Pacific Railroad's publication (named after the western train, Sunset Limited) designed to lure tourists and settlers to the West.

Seven years after the first Lane edition was published in February 1929, the country had climbed out of the depression and Sunset was a financial success. It stood as the first and only successful regional publication when in 1963, the publishers of Progressive Farmer thought of creating a magazine for the urban South.

The 1960 census indicated to the Progressive Farmer Company the beginning of a large scale migration of southerners from farms to urban centers. And while one section of the magazine focused on the home life of southerners, the remainder covered rural concerns which failed to serve the new city dwellers.

According to Southern Living advertising representative Bill Peterson, "They figured there were 100,000 people buying the magazine strictly for that section." Looking to Sunset as a prototype, the southerners met with the westerners. The result was Southern Living, "the magazine of the modern South." The basic similarity between the two rests on the area of editorial coverage, divided into four sections by both magazines: food, home, travel, and garden. While some articles apply to two categories, such as outdoor landscaping which entails both home and garden, these categories embrace all articles published in the two regional magazines.

How much of their editorial content is actually regional? In recent issues of both, the proportion of articles directly related to the South and West is almost exactly 60 per cent. The remainder, those equally suitable for publication in Better Homes, are recipes and remodeling ideas for the most part, having no direct connection with a region. Because articles in these categories are either contributed by readers or focused on readers' accomplishments, they maintain some link with the region's lifestyle.

Although the majority of the national magazine's articles fall into the same four categories, splinter sections have developed over the years. Regular departments covering family-money, education, health, automotive care, and other problems encountered by people raising families, fall under the heading "family management."

Occasionally, articles in the two regionals cover like subjects, such as how to safely dispose of flourescent light tubes and tips for the fireplace season, but in Better Homes they carry more weight. The factor which the national magazine has added is children. While Southern Living runs plans for a child's playhouse and Sunset shows how to make a soap box racer from plastic trash cans, these are Christmas-issue features which diverge from the usual. Better Homes regularly publishes articles ranging from "Handcrafted gifts your child will cherish" to a monthly department spotlighting patterns for sewing children's clothes to "Cross-country skiing: what does your family need?"

In the November 1974 issue, having classified skiing under "Leisure products," Better Homes concentrated on needed equipment for family members, its cost and how to choose it. The author's approach indicated readers' concern with their children: "Cross-country skiing is a fine family sport as varying levels of experience or physical co-ordination won't separate the novices from the experts."

In contrast, Sunset's "What about a snow holiday in Canada's Rockies?" focused on the travel and recreation aspect. Rather than a family's equipment and its purchase, the November article covered the appeal of skiing, ice skating, etc. and ways to reach the picturesque slopes. The travel plans fail to mention accommodating or entertaining children.

Demographics of readers may explain the essential difference in the magazines' approach. In 1971, for example, 69 per cent of the households Better Homes reached consisted of three or more persons.[2] Only 50.1 per cent of Sunset's households were equally large.[3] In 1972, the national's readers had more children of every age group than Southern Living readers -- 5 per cent more children under 6, 7 per cent more aged 6 to 11, and 6.6 per cent more with children ages 12 to 17.

Another statistic supporting the promise that more Better Homes readers are concerned with children is that its proportion of female readers is large. Only 25.9 per cent of Better Homes readers are male, while males constitute 47.5 per cent of the U.S. population. According to Southern Living surveys, 41 per cent of its readers are male.

Occupation statistics measuring the number of adult readers not employed may be considered an indication of the number of readers whose time is employed rearing children. In the entire country, 47.2 per cent of adults are not employed. Among Better Homes readers, 45.3 per cent fall into this classification, and Southern Living readers total 39.8 per cent not employed.[4]

Sunset's "Western Market Almanac," a 96-page report to advertisers interested in reaching westerners, carefully skirts this information. Not only does its report of "The Sunset Audience" omit the proportion of male and female readers, it omits the proportion of readers who are parents.

Rather than reporting occupational statistics for all adult readers, it characterizes "occupations of heads of households." Almost 3 per cent of the heads of households are housewives, but far more readers must be housewives whose husbands head the household. The detailed demographic statistics fail to provide any information about these women and the women who work as well, the very readers who rear children.

Perhaps this hole in Sunset's otherwise thorough market report is the best proof of the magazine's inattention to the interests and problems of their readers as parents. Dave Allen explained. "Sunset's forte is that they can talk about the West. They can't talk about children any better than anyone else." Since national magazines concern themselves especially with family interests, he continued, Sunset would only duplicate other material.

What Sunset can and does cover best, Allen said, is the West. The magazine is "distinctively different because westerners have a more common lifestyle. The mild climate gives people the opportunity to do more things outside. The westerner lives within his lot line rather than his house line. People are more adventuresome, more nomadic, and interested in new things, more willing to pull up stakes," he said. "More than half the region's population increase has been through migration." Because more people chose to live in this region, he reasons, they all have something in common: something drew them to the West. Lane saw that western living was different "when no one talked about 'lifestyles' and there was no such things as 'psychographic groups.'"

Thus the magazine's editorial concept was based on the idea of the "Western Empire" before the empire had arisen. The uniqueness of the West is specified as the reason behind many Sunset policies. The use of a preponderance of black and white pictures is one example.

According to Allen, Sunset uses few four-color editorial pages because the westerner is already convinced the western life style is the best. The drawing power of color, then, is not necessary to attract readers. Sunset's use of color is low compared to Southern Living and Better Homes. Editorial pages with at least two colors average at approximately 10 per cent in Sunset, 25 per cent in Southern Living, and 45 per cent in Better Homes.

All three scatter two-color throughout the shorter articles, notably to clarify instructions for making projects. From remodeling a house to biking around Hawaii to harvesting beets, these magazines are full of projects. They take the practical, "how-to" approach to every article. Sunset Publisher L. W. Lane, Jr. has even claimed, "You know, we think we coined the phrase, 'how to do it.'"

No matter where the spark came from, the "how-to"s are the basis of the three magazines. Sunset articles are packed with direct phrases like, "you can read," "you check your bike," "once you get to Ceylon," and "to make one table you'll need." In the words of Editor Proctor Mellquist, "Everything we publish has to be something on which a reader can take action."[5]

While Southern Living also emphasizes the "Dozens of places to see and things to do across the South," some of its articles are directed toward the less action-oriented reader. Both regionals recently covered local theater, each from its own characteristic angle.

"The Show Goes On" spotlighted a professional drama company in Louisville, Kentucky. The development of the company, its trials and triumphs, and recent productions made up the bulk of the piece. An 1830 landmark, the old Bank of Louisville where the cast performs, added the historical touch typical of every Southern Living article. By inviting them to visit Louisville and see a play, the author included his readers in the action.

Sunset did not stop there. "Should you get into Community Theater?" answered its own question in a six-page pictorial depicting westerners from Eugene to Thousand Oaks rehearsing, performing, and painting scenery. The adjacent copy was introduced this way:

> A theatrical experience -- an opportunity to be 'theater people' -- is available to anyone who joins a community theater.
>
> 'O.K. But what's involved?' you ask. 'And what's in it for me?'

What followed was a detailed description of how to join, how much time to devote, and how to choose a task. The westerner uninterested in joining an amateur company simply turns the page, no matter how interested he might be in the people in the pictures or in the spectator sport of play-going.

Better Homes' national audience rules out such features on local phenomenon which would exclude readers from distant parts of the country. Even travel articles can be "nationalized" by focusing on motels around the country of changing money for a foreign trip. The "Family Travel" department carries articles on specific places, and encourages families anywhere in the country to vacation there. Gardening articles can discuss house plants and terrariums and thereby avoid the problems of changing climate. Three travel sections, however, aimed at the East, the West and the Great Lakes, change along with appropriate regional advertising.

Other editorial material printed with regional advertising remains the same from region to region. Remodeling and recipes make up the bulk of these articles. Both editorial content and printing quality indicate less care is taken with regional sections. Copy is sliced off in the trimming process. In one issue, the same page, its article and advertisement, were repeated identically 20 pages later. "How to make beef jerky," a recipe with illustrations ran in a regional section of the June 1973 issue and appeared again without change or explanation in November 1974. As few as 16 pages or as many as 44 are identified by a letter and are numbered separately from the paging of the full run. This system means as much as 20 per cent of an issue's pages may not appear in the table of contents, a problem which poses the question, "Are these articles read?"

Better Homes advertisers choose from 59 regional editions and 58 metro markets in any combination. Sunset advertisers choose from three advertising editions -- northwest, southwest, and central. For editorial purposes, the Southwest edition is further specialized into the Desert edition and Southern California and Hawaii editions. The purpose of the fourth is to answer the needs of readers in southern Nevada, Arizona, and southeast California as they differ from the remainder of the southwest. Gardeners in Phoenix, for example, have different problems than Honolulu gardeners due to their dissimilar climate.

Dave Allen estimated 40 per cent of Sunset's editorial content changes for the four editions and further explained its needs. "Take the first travel section, designed to suggest weekend trips. You just can't send people too far for a weekend." Accordingly, in November the Central edition covered Dungeness crab fishing in northern California, the Desert offered biking at Saguaro National Monument east of Tuscon, and the Pacific Northwest edition explored Seattle's Underground.

A tally of these issues indicated the proportion of articles special to their editorial edition ranges from 16 to 22 per cent. Pages of the Northwest edition totaled eight less than the others, suggesting that since advertising pages made the difference, the Northwest is not considered as desirable an advertising market.

Some specialized articles reflected individual aspects of the region covered, while others would have been equally appropriate in a national publication. How to use excess rainwater was the subject of a Northwest edition article which would be lost on the desert reader. But the article on growing the desert bush, manzanita, would earn as little attention from northwest readers. Other articles special to the Northwest edition included "All with a can of pumpkin," a collection of recipes from Californians with no special application to the edition's region. "The next best thing to showering in the garden" offered nothing to desert readers.

A few articles ran in two of the four editions. "You nibble these sweets with coffee," for example, is more attractive to central and northwest readers as fall settles in. An article covering a conservation referendum in California ran in the three regions affected by its outcome. But in the same issues, desert and northwest readers were treated to recipes for granola cakes, while for no apparent reason central readers were not.

Nevertheless, the theory behind specialized editorial editions is to offer the reader a service which the advertiser has long enjoyed, variations to suit his individual needs.

Southern Living offers advertisers the choice of reaching any one of 16 southern states or combination of states, but as Bill Peterson estimates, less than 10 per cent take advantage of the opportunity. Editorial content, he explained, changes slightly in copies sent west of the Mississippi.

Eight pages of each of the most recent issues, for example, carried features focusing on Texas. "Quite frankly, we have trouble maintaining circulation in Texas," Peterson said. Publishing articles on an Austin crafts fair, a new owner of the Texas Rangers, and the first female basketball referee is part of the drive to build readership there. A major feature on unusual shopping centers in the South led the November issue, and a Dallas crafts center was chosen for the cover.

Southern Living has half as many subscribers in Texas as Better Homes, although at 1,093,735, its total circulation is approximately 14 per cent of the national magazine's monthly average of 7,860,582. Circulation growth in Southern Living's nearly 10 year history has been steady, with its advertising rate base increasing an average of 100,000 per year.[6]

Advertising pages and revenue have increased accordingly. The Publishers' Information Bureau reports that advertising pages increased 16 per cent from 1972 to 1973 and revenue increased 26 per cent. During the same period, Better Homes' revenue increased 2 per cent and advertising pages decreased 3 per cent. Sunset carried one more page of advertising in 1973 than 1972, while revenue increased 7 per cent. Both regionals ran more advertising pages in 1973 than Better Homes, but due to higher ciruclation and advertising rates, the national grossed 4 to 6 times more.

Peterson attributes Southern Living's increasing sales and circulation during a period of national economic recession to its "booming" market. His approach to advertisers is based on growth figures for the South: 44 per cent of housing starts, more than one-third of all births, over 66 million people, 31 per cent of U.S. households, 31 per cent of retail sales, and 15 of the 30 fastest growing metro markets are in the South.

He explained the boom with a bit of history. During reconstruction, the federal government placed a tariff on goods manufactured in the South and marketed elsewhere, according to Peterson, as a means of preventing the industrialization of the region. This tariff added 33 per cent to the cost of southern goods. Ninety years later, the tax was removed, and that same year, 1956, was the first year the South led the nation in housing starts. It marked the beginning of the region's transition from a rural to an urban market, Peterson said, the same transition which prompted the publication of Southern Living.

"The key to this magazine's success has been that it fulfills the editorial need of southerners," he concluded. "If the South is written into the marketing plan, then so is Southern Living."

What he sees as a trend away from basing media buys on syndicated research has helped the magazine. Advertisers are going back to editorial content to make the choice, he said.

"We don't have the big numbers of subscribers," he said, "but we have quality." According to Southern Living surveys, 46 per cent of readers read every issue over a 12 month period.

Convincing the advertiser he wants and needs to reach the southern reader is a large portion of Peterson's job. Overcoming the stereotypes of the South and southerners is often the first hurdle. For example, "The Le Sueur pea is the most expensive damn pea on the market. They say southerners haven't got any bread, that they're always on relief. But 80 per cent of all Le Sueur peas are sold in the South. They love that damn pea."

Advertisers have also discovered the South as a better than average market for crystal glassware and sterling and stainless silverware. According to PIB, Southern Living carried 15.8 pages of such advertisements, compared to six pages in Sunset and five in Better Homes.

In almost every other category the two larger magazines topped the youngest one in volume and revenue. In 1972 -- in number of pages advertising sporting goods and toys, for example, Sunset led with 21.6, Better Homes carried 9.75, and Southern Living followed with 8.2. The next year, however, Better Homes sank to 8 pages, Sunset maintained its lead with 29.8, and Southern Living increased to 19.1 pages.

The category of alcoholic beverages provides another example. Sunset carried 19.6 pages of wine advertising, Southern Living 7.6, and Better Homes .75. But in liquor advertising, the southern magazine ran 95.4 pages and Better Homes 8.8.

"Southerners are homebodies," explained Peterson. "They have larger lots, and they entertain at home more. Bourbon has declined in sales all over the country except the South, where they consume 50 per cent of all bourbon sold in the U.S." The region is also leading the country in increased consumption of rum, vodka, and gin. In the last two issues of 1974, Southern Living carried 56 pages of alcoholic beverages advertising.

Sunset, on the other hand, refuses to advertise liquor and tobacco. As Publisher L. W. Lane Jr. has explained, "We don't feel hard liquor or beer advertisements complement our publishing objectives. We do accept and carry a great deal of table wine advertising. We simply like to have the advertising we carry complement what we are doing editorially."[7]

Dave Allen commented, "In California, because of the influence of the wine industry, wine is accepted as a staple food, like in Europe. Now I know you're going to ask, 'Why not beer?' It's just that it's based on an old-fashioned concept. In 1928 a man had to go to a bar -- had to leave his family -- to drink beer."

Other advertising not accepted includes feminine hygiene products in order to "protect men," in Allen's words. "We have always kept the atmosphere so that it won't turn men off," he added. The travel column opening every issue is "a vehicle to bring men into the book and on through to the back" where food articles reign.

"We're building on common interests of both sexes," Allen said. Since the West inspired "the 'do your own thing' idea, men can get involved with cooking without being 'sissy.'" In fact, "It's open season for burning steaks."

Sunset's monthly feature, "Chefs of the West," recognizes men who have progressed far beyond steak burning. Subtitled "The Art of Cooking . . . by men . . . for men," the handful of recipes are linked by ink drawings and imaginative, witty paragraphs written in a light, conversational style. A few words of explanation from the chef usually introduces each recipe, and his signature concludes it. Sunset's managing editor, in his early years, handled the feature, according to Allen.

In his opinion, "Our food section is so far ahead of everyone else's, it's not even funny." He cited the reader-contributed recipes, careful testing by home economists and their insistence on easily followed directions.

Though with less flourish, Southern Living also recognizes the talents of men in the kitchen. Recipes from male readers receive the same treatment as their feminine counterparts, two or three sentences of introduction and credits for the culinary creator. Such beginnings as "If you don't think men are good cooks, we predict these recipes will make you a believer," indicate the magazine's defensive tone in approaching males cooking. The Southern Living staff seems to be writing to the prevailing attitude that men in kitchens are unusual, that they are in general too "masculine" to cook.

The word "chef" emphasized in Sunset's feature connotes the male cooking expert who quite naturally makes his living in the kitchen.

Better Homes' approach to the subject is titled "He Cooks," a column as regular as "Win money for your recipes." The readers who win money for their recipes are invariably female. The man starring in "He Cooks" is awarded the same $50, but he also receives almost a page for photographs of his kitchen, his creation, and himself. The female winner shares her page with runners-up, and nobody gets a picture. The factor distinguishing the southern and national magazines' coverage is that men are considered a curiosity in the food section. "The Chefs of the West" achieves a camaraderie of men speaking to men which the other two do not.

What the two regionals' food sections have in common is their preponderance of recipes from readers. Their contributions provide a special appeal for southern or western cooks, male or female. Southern delights such as Stuffed Chicken Breasts Savannah, Company Corn Pudding, and Sweet Potato Cobbler add another dimension to the food section. Although the "typically western" recipe is harder to identify, Catalina Seviche, Sloppy Chinese Hamburgers and Zucchini-Pineapple Marmalade all have a western flavor. Soliciting recipes from readers is a convenient way to localize editorial content, but neither magazine uses the method to limit coverage.

Ways to serve Norwegian tortilla or Dutch mashed potatoes might easily be found on the pages of Better Homes, but Sunset published them. Southern Living is more likely to localize a food feature in some creative way. In November ideas for dressing game birds bagged by southern hunters appeared. Quail with Wild Rice photographed in full color beside an antique musket filled one page.

The same month, Sunset explored new parts of the Thanksgiving turkey to cook. In the largest black and white picture were the various uncooked turkey parts labelled with white letters.

Full-page color portraits of food in elegant settings are the rule rather than the exception in Better Homes. Money-saving recipes have received much attention recently, echoing the inflation-fighting spirit important in every department.

An automotive column tells how to "stretch mileage," decorating must be "inexpensive," purchasing equipment can "help cut food costs." Combining a Better Homes cooking approach with home economics was "Elegant entrees from everyday beginnings." The fighting spirit goes wild under the "Family Money Management" heading.

By contrast, neither regional emphasizes the money-saving approach. Rather than headlining an article, "Decorating can be inexpensive," Sunset offers the "how to"s of building a couch. Knowing how to make greeting cards at home or use beef hearts in a soup entree help a reader save money without the publicity.

Southern Living follows the Sunset example in this respect. The do-it-yourself angle was part of the pattern used in the younger magazine's creation. The two regionals look alike as well, thick books with plentiful advertising and numerous, relatively short articles. Typography and paper stock is identical, with different headline type for Southern Living, but the same consistent use of that type for every headline. Unlike Better Homes, the two use a profusion of black and white pictures in ordinary layouts. Southern Living has recently decreased the amount of trapped white space in its layouts, a characteristic of Sunset.

Better Homes' visual design is consistently more striking, with unusual layouts and imaginative photography. The magazine's display format relegates the direction to back pages where the design loses control. The larger page size, which opens up more possibilities on the display pages, presents a problem for advertisements planned for standard, 8½" x 11" publications. Copy is wrapped around advertisements obviously designed to completely fill a smaller page.

In the regional magazines, "how-to"s for handicrafts, remodeling projects or foods are always part of the article itself. Diagrams and directions run the risk of being shortened to fit the page, but the reader is saved from seeking instructions 100 pages from illustrations. Better Homes' policy of featuring projects for which instructions must be purchased separately lends a sense of incompleteness to these articles.

Sunset articles are slanted to answer the needs of readers who approach every article with the same sentiment expressed in "Should you get into community theater": "O.K. But what's involved. And what's in it for me?" The magazine is for acting, making, doing, and only peripherally for reading. But over the years, it has proven itself a success as an instruction manual.

Southern Living's variation on the regional lifestyle theme places less emphasis on action. The reader is entertained just as frequently with stories about handicraft museums to visit as he is entertained by articles telling how to make handicrafts himself. The historical perspective, such as in a museum piece, is seldom omitted, adding depth and meaning to the subtitle, "The Magazine of the Modern South."

These two regional magazines have shown that the how-to, lifestyle publication with a geographically bound readership can compete with a firmly entrenched, mass circulation publication in the same field, although on a smaller scale. Such a magazine's success depends on its specialization to meet readers' needs not served by a larger scale enterprise.

NOTES

[1] "Laurence William Lane Jr. of Sunset," Nation's Business, January 1973, p. 36.

[2] The W. R. Simmons Report of Magazine Information, 1972.

[3] Sunset Western Market Almanac, p. 92.

[4] Simmons, 1973.

[5] "The Sunset Way," Time, November 1, 1963, p. 73.

[6] Audit Bureau of Circulations, Magazine Publisher's Statement and Audit Reports for six months ending June 30, 1974 for Southern Living and Better Homes and Gardens.

[7] "Lane," Nation's Business, p. 37.

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Four Consumer Photography Magazines: *Camera 35*, *Modern Photography*, *Petersen's Photographic*, *Popular Photography*

Thomas Harack

INTRODUCTION

This report will be a discussion of four consumer photography magazines: *Popular Photography*, *Modern Photography*, *Camera 35* and *Petersen's Photographic*. A section of the report will be devoted to each magazine, followed by a summary of this particular area of special interest magazines.

While certain areas of concern involving the publication of photographic magazines are undoubtedly common to the production of any consumer magazine, photography publications are special in two ways. First, since they are all aimed at the same special interest group generally, each must incorporate an at-least-somewhat specific editorial concept if it is to survive. There will, naturally, be considerable overlap in the material which each magazine includes in its issues, and this duplication by necessity will be manifest in the report.

Second, virtually all of the advertising which appears in the magazines is for photographic equipment or services, to the point where the magazines resemble business publications in that respect. To a greater or lesser degree, the editorial concept of each publication includes the mention of such products, whether the material only mentions the equipment peripherally or is actually about the products. One might expect that this would occasion a certain amount of dissatisfaction on the part of advertisers as regards the way their products have been treated (or not treated) editorially. Indeed, this turns out to be the case, again to varying degrees.

A brief, but essential statistical characterization of each of the four magazines will appear at the beginning of each section. This will include material received from the Audit Bureau of Circulation in Chicago, and statements of editorial profile from *Standard Rate and Data Service's Index of Farm and Consumer Publications*. Also included will be readership information obtained from the publishers, mostly in the form of profiles of the average reader's particular interest in photography and his corresponding interest in the magazines. Often, this information will sound a lot like propaganda, probably because it is. The surveys are generally presented to potential advertisers to induce them to buy space in the given publication. Although this natural slant may be evident, it is assumed that any information which the advertising salesman would present to an advertiser would be an accurate enough reflection of the situation. Any other attempt would be self-defeating. At any rate, the factors which the publisher chooses to emphasize in the readership survey often tell something about the way in which he sees his editorial concept as it relates to the market generally.

Editorial trends and changes within recent years will be mentioned, where applicable, for each publication. However, most changes in the editorial content of the magazines seem to have been due more to the general increase in leisure time, and the consequent increased interest and sophistication in such leisure time activities as photography; not to any preconceived effort on the part of the editor to consciously manipulate his audience or his magazine's place in the market.

Throughout the sections on the individual magazines, an attempt will be made to emphasize the characteristics of each which set it apart from the other three. Also considered will be how closely the magazine itself conforms to the editor's statement of editorial concept.

POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY. Published monthly by Ziff-Davis Publishing Co., New York. Single copy $1.00, one year $7.98.

From Standard Rate and Date: Popular Photography serves everyone, from beginner to professional, who wants to learn more about photography. Articles help the photo enthusiast improve his art by showing him new ways to seek and capture exciting photographs; by demonstrating these approaches through the work of well-known photographers; and by reporting on technical advances that make it easier to take satisfying pictures. Regular columns report on color, darkroom operation, movie-making, sound reproduction and travel; answer readers' technical questions; report late news of the photo industry; and offer buying advice on photographic products.

As might be expected, judging from the broad appeal of this editorial profile, Popular Photography has the largest circulation of any of the four magazines in question. The June 30, 1974, ABC statement reports an average paid circulation of 666,614. The June 30, 1970, ABC figure for paid circulation was 525,637, so it is evident that the publication has experienced substantial growth in circulation.

During the six months ending June 30, 1974, Popular Photography sold (new and renewal) 212,186 subscriptions. Of these, 186,013 were sold at lower than basic prices. This sometimes indicates a push for increased circulation. However, this may be misleading, since 191,276 of the subscriptions sold were for one to three years, which more often than not entails a reduced subscription rate.

Sample issues of the magazine contained a roughly 65/35 per cent advertising/editorial ratio. The majority of the editorial content is staff-written, although some of it is furnished by contributing editors and regional correspondents, of which there are 13 listed on the masthead. Naturally, many of the photographs are provided by outside contributors.

Departments and features indeed include the widest range of information pertaining to photography. These include travel and photography, a review of new pieces of photographic and even sound equipment, a review of current photography shows, and a section about photography on campus, as well as a good deal of "how to" material. Suffice it to say that Popular Photography's coverage of photography-related subjects appears as diverse as its statement of editorial content claims.

Visually, the magazine is attractively laid out, and includes considerable use of color. The color advertisements, which many times include striking color pictures taken with the equipment they extoll, add to the bright appearance of the magazine. In past years, mail order advertisements (drab by comparison) have appeared much more frequently toward the front of the book. They are now more closely grouped toward the rear. Individual issues average about 250 pages.

In the monthly issues, the magazine's review of camera equipment usually focuses on a particular type of equipment (e.g., compact 35mm cameras). Generally, the specifications for the equipment are provided, with a brief comment on ease of handling, general performance, etc.. The treatment may seem more sparse than Modern Photography's, for instance. However, Popular Photography also publishes an annual photography directory and buying guide, which provides somewhat more detailed information on a more complete range of photographic hardware. Also published by Ziff-Davis are: Popular Photography's Photography Annual, a collection of the year's best photographs; Popular Photography's Color Photography (annually), a selection of photographs and technical articles specifically for color enthusiasts; Popular Photography's Invitation to Photography (semiannually), to provide an introduction to the beginner of photography as a hobby; and Popular Photography's 35mm Photography (three times a year), a collection of advanced technical articles and photographs dealing with 35mm photography. Popular Photography thereby provides supplementary material for readers who have a particular realm of interest, ability, or technical expertise, while keeping its monthly issues geared toward the largest possible number of photographic enthusiasts.

Popular Photography's editor, Ken Poli, said, "We try to give the broadest possible coverage that we have available to photography, really. At least in my opinion, it's not an art (contrast this with the general view of Camera 35 later on), but it's a medium sometimes used by artists, sometimes merely by craftsmen, and sometimes by butchers. We have a certain amount of equipment coverage, but we try to give as broad coverage to photography as a medium as possible."

Popular Photography's readership survey seems indeed to suggest that a variety of photography enthusiasts read the magazine. Some figures:

--Out of an estimated $1.2 billion retail market for photographic hardware, Popular Photography buyers spent some $436 million alone -- or 36 per cent of all consumer photographic equipment sales last year.

--During a 12-month period, 11 different people will ask the Popular Photography buyer for his advice on photographic equipment. Seven of the 11 will purchase equipment, and six of the seven will buy the brand specifically recommended.

It is possible to go on for a long time citing readership statistics. But two essential points compose the thrust of Popular Photography's appeal to advertisers. First, the survey stresses the wide spectrum of equipment which is owned by the magazine's readers, as well as that which they plan to buy within the next year. Although single lens reflex cameras are easily the most often owned or plan-to-buy items, the survey also mentions movie cameras, tape recorders, Polaroid Land cameras, instamatics -- In short, pieces of equipment on every level of photographic sophistication.

Second, the conclusion of Popular Photography's report is that: "No matter how long a man has been interested in photography, or how much equipment he already owns ... as long as he reads a photographic magazine, he remains a big and active buyer of photographic products." This argument presumably is to negate the assumption which might be made on the part of the advertiser that a photographic enthusiast would have to be a devout and experienced aficionade to purchase equipment consistently.

Another interesting promotional idea of Popular Photography is their recent "Photography as the fourth 'R'." (Behind reading, writing, and 'rithmetic', that is.) The plan is to eventually include photography instruction in schools as early as the elementary years, in an attempt to demonstrate and utilize the creative and educational benefits of photography as a learning tool. Without going into the details of this campaign, the magazine's editorial staff has gone to considerable lengths in organizing a symposium on the efficacy of such a program.

Popular Photography's policy concerning the reviews it gives photographic equipment is, as Poli describes it, one of making every attempt at fairness, if not leniency. A recent past issue describes the magazine's testing procedure as "the roughest, toughest test lab," and the testing process described therein does appear thorough. In the case of a complaint by an advertiser, Poli says the material usually is reviewed. If it is determined that the review of some equipment is unfair, it is ordinarily suggested that the advertiser write a letter which will be printed in the next available issue. Indeed, several of these letters have appeared from time to time. This might seem like little compensation, but a really scathing review of a product is difficult to find. The complaints which appear in the "letters" section more often mention the exclusion of a particular brand of equipment rather than the unfair treatment thereof.

"We're not in the business to put anyone out of business," Poli says. "If something's really bad, we might just quietly just say nothing about it, just not publish it at all. But if we're right, we're right. This is a luxury that the biggest of the books can enjoy."

MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY. Published monthly by Photography Publishing Division, ABC Leisure Magazines, Inc., New York. Single copy $1.00, one year $7.95, two years $14.90, three years $20.00.

From Standard Rate and Data: A magazine for the serious amateur and professional photographer, features articles on buying and testing equipment, pictures from readers, film and material comparisons, picture taking and color printing made easy, darkroom techniques, the correct use of photographic equipment. It runs portfolios on both new outstanding photographers and known classicists, offers motion picture and readers' service departments and has monthly columns on single lens reflex photography, color, camera collecting, seeing pictures, equipment photography, darkroom and photo education for students.

The second largest of the four magazines, both in the size of the book and in circulation, is Modern Photography. Paid circulation has better than doubled, from 237,302 for the six months ending June 30, 1965, to 492,831 for the same period ending June 30, 1974. The number of pages of advertising included in the publication annually has also increased substantially, according to Modern's figures, from 858 pages in 1965 to 1337 pages in 1973. Of the 120,805 total subscriptions sold for the period ending June 30, 1974, roughly half were at basic prices, and half at lower than basic prices. The vast majority (93,840) were for one to three years.

In the same way that the name Popular Photography reflects the editorial concept of that magazine, Modern Photography is also aptly named. That is, the state of photographic technology has, in recent years, beer in such a state of flux (it still is) that, from the standpoint of equipment and its nomenclature, one cannot tell the players without a scorecard. And, at the risk of caricature, Modern Photography ("modern" in the sense that the run-away pace of the photographic hardward market is a relatively recent development) is the equipment-oriented magazine. This does not mean that the only things Modern Photography concerns itself with are equipment. Its variety of features is almost as wide as is Popular Photography's, but its stress is on the evaluation of equipment.

Perhaps by necessity, many of the technical articles are oriented toward the photographer who knows plenty technically -- enough to be able to understand what is being said. A January 1971 letter to the editor complained:

> One could wish that you would take a stand, plainly, as a marketplace for photo materials and articles on their use. Within this concept, you do a commendable job. But, you seem bent on giving Modern a veneer of artistic purpose. You offer to educate readers and lead them in the culture of photography when, in fact, you are only attempting to computerize them in its technology, pouring scientific minutiae down their throats, without nourishing their spirits or judgments for the task of taking great photographs.
>
> You may manage to make mechanical marvels of your readers; but in your present editorial concept you will never help to create artists or art.

While this may be an exaggerated complaint against the editorial concept as a whole, it nonetheless does appear that Modern Photography prides itself on being the most honest and complete tester of equipment. Past covers of the magazine have included blurbs like, "Modern tests vs. Nat'l. Bureau of Standards," Modern dares compare teleconverters," and "How accurately do nine major color films reproduce these critical colors?" Modern has several times explained and updated its extensive testing procedures. Also included in each issue is a department called "Too Hot to Handle," wherein the readers are free to write in to praise or complain (the latter more often prompts a letter) about a piece of equipment. These inquiries are answered frankly by the magazine.

Also unique to Modern Photography is the section devoted to mail order equipment sales. It used to be that mail order advertisements appeared scattered throughout the book. Now, all equipment advertisements are in the back of the book, in a section of "selected and approved" ads. Any advertisers buying space in this section must have agreed to honor their guarantees or warranties to the customer, at the risk of being excluded from the magazine. Modern provides the advertiser with a list of standards which must be adhered to; all of which is to further the idea that any information which appears in Modern pertaining to equipment is reliable.

Modern's portfolio of material directed at potential advertisers clearly reflects this premise. Interestingly enough, the magazine's SRDS statement of editorial profile includes the word "buying" in its first sentence. And that constitutes its appeal to advertisers. Modern's figures from a survey of Modern Photography and Popular Photography's duplicate readers (it is clear that Modern sees Popular as its main competition) show that 48.7 per cent of the readers felt that Modern "has the most useful, accurate products reports;" 33.8 per cent felt that Popular Photography did, while 11.5 per cent felt they were the same. To the question, "Which one magazine most influences your selecting and buying photo products?" 45 per cent of the duplicate readers answered Modern Photography, 33.8 per cent answered Popular Photography. Add to this Modern's figures that, "in deciding about cameras or other photographic equipment, 76.6 per cent refer to ads in photo magazines and 64.2 per cent refer to photo magazine test reports.

Modern Photography also emphasizes that 43.5 per cent of its readers are "advanced amateurs;" its readers have been interested in photography an average of 10.8 years; and in the next 12 months, each Modern reader plans to spend an average of $486 on photographic equipment (about $233,000,000). Thus, as Len Levine, Modern's Chicago area advertising representative explained, although the circulation is not as great as Popular's, Modern's readers tend to be somewhat more advanced (presumably buying more equipment), as well as dependent on test reports.

Like Popular Photography, Modern decides which pieces of equipment will be reviewed. Herbert Keppler, editorial director and publisher, said Modern observes certain rules concerning product reviews. For instance, they will not run an advertisement for a product in the same issue it is reviewed, if the product is not ordinarily advertised in the magazine. Also, advertisers are not allowed to see test reports prior to publication.

Keppler said that as early as 1955 or 1956, advertisers have occasionally withdrawn ads from the magazine due to disputes over editorial treatment of their products. He named one example where the advertiser did not renew his advertisements for 12 years. However, he noted that this is definitely the exception rather than a common occurrence. More common are complaints about placement of an ad (not far enough forward in the book, etc.).

Modern Photography also publishes a Photo Buying Guide, a compilation of the most recent test reports which have appeared in previous monthly issues; and Photo Information Almanac, a collection of "facts, formulas, charts, tables and tips for making better pictures."

CAMERA 35.[1] Published monthly (except Aug./Sept. and Feb./Mar. issues combined) by American Express Publishing Co., New York. 75¢ single copy, 1 Year $6.00, 2 years $10.00, 3 years $15.00.

In its way, Camera 35 is the most distinct magazine of the four being considered. It is the oldest, and has the smallest and most constant circulation. It deals only with 35mm photography, and not with larger format photography or motion picture photography, etc., It is the least expensive. For the six month period ending June 30, 1970, it had an average circulation of 87,047, and has fluctuated around the 100,000 mark since. Its most recent ABC listing is 102,770.

Camera 35's SRDS statement of editorial concept is a quite accurate synopsis of what appears in the book. In Editor Jim Hughes' own words, much more of the material deals with the "intellectual, controversial and more eclectic" subjects. A letter in the November, 1974, issue states:

You have been dealing more effectively with the problems of imagination and metaphysics in photography than I thought any magazine could.

One can only make photos as well as one understands his experience in the world and one needs the powers of the imagination to do this. Knowing the difference between D-76 and Microdol-X isn't going to help anyone understand anyone else or himself better.

Generally, Camera 35 concentrates much more heavily on the showing of photographs and discussion thereof than do any of the other three publications. The reproduction and layout of these portfolios is superb, and the discussion of them usually provocative, even if you don't care for the pictures. Also typical of the editorial content: In the December 1974 issue, there appears a critique of present trends in artistic photography and the museum officials, etc., who encourage or discourage certain modes of expression; and an in-depth interview with Ron Galella (the photographer sued by Jackie Onassis). Both of these features would seem out-of-place in the other books. In addition, the advertising/editorial ratio is about 40/60 per cent, very little of which is mail order. Most of the material is staff-written.

Although no readership survey was available for this report, Hughes said this about advertiser/editorial disputes: "We definitely get complaints, but we still do whatever we want to -- not whatever we want, because everybody's trying to survive, and this isn't a good time to be trying to survive. But you have to try to keep it straight-ahead, because 40 per cent of our readers are professionals. We have to try to be honest. We don't depend on a turn-over of readers, as other magazines do."

Hughes characterized Camera 35's place in the market as follows: "Camera 35 is oriented more toward the photograph itself. It is actually oriented toward the minority, and a rapid increase in circulation is not necessarily the specific goal of the publisher and the editor.

Camera 35 also publishes the U.S. Camera/Camera 35 annual.

PETERSEN'S PHOTOGRAPHIC. Published monthly by Petersen Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California. Single copy $1.00, one year $9.00, two years $15.00, three years $21.00.

From Standard Rate and Data Service: Petersen's Photographic Magazine is edited for photographers who are interested in improving their photographic abilities. This includes the still and movie camera enthusiasts. Each issue contains informative How-To features on techniques, equipment, lenses, films, darkroom and other facets of the photographic experience. How-to articles are written by leading photographic authorities, with graphic examples in color and black-and-white. Monthly columns provide information about camera collecting, tips from professionals, travel, new equipment and products, photo books and information about photo education.

With the advent of Petersen's Photographic, the photographic magazine has seen some innovative ideas. One is an emphasis on the "how to" aspect, typical of Petersen publications generally. The other is a new approach to advertiser/publisher relationships.

The average circulation for the six months ending June 30, 1974, according to ABC, was 159,667, 100,596 of which were single copy sales. During that period, 33,832 subscriptions were sold, 21,037 at basic prices. Editor Paul Farber said that since that ABC statement, circulation has risen to a figure in excess of 225,000, 80,000 of which are subscription. All this, Farber said, has been done without the aid of a formal subscription drive.

As is the case with the other magazines, the majority of the material in Photographic is staff-written. Similarly, they include portfolios of various noted photographers, including some by accomplished amateurs. Since its inception two-and-one-half years ago, little change has been made in the format, with the exception of the addition or alteration of a few columns. In sample issues of the book (usually 80 to 100 pages), between 40 and 50 per cent was advertising. None of the ads were for mail order equipment outlets. Farber said that this is a deliberate attempt to encourage distribution through retailers of photographic hardware. He said that 1300 photo dealers sell Petersen's exclusively, because there are no mail order advertisements which would be competitive with their own equipment sales.

The obvious emphasis of the editorial content in Petersen's is on "how to" features. This actually is typical of most of Petersen Publication's special interest magazines. While the magazine includes a section on new equipment, the material covers mostly the specifications -- size, weight, price, features, etc. -- and makes very little comment on anything but a very general assessment of quality and ease of use. Farber elaborates:

> I have done my fair share of test reports, but the simple truth is that anyone who is qualified to test a piece of equipment -- camera, lens, whatever -- should also be qualified to design one. And I frankly find that none of us are qualified to test anything on any basis whatsoever, except on the basis of results. And even then, results are a purely subjective situation. For example, I can take one lens and send it to all the other periodicals to test it, and I know damn well I'm going to get back four different opinions.... So test reports per se in my opinion serve no useful function. Readers now view test reports, I would say, with a high amount of suspicion. They relate test reports to continued advertising.
>
> Our particular purpose with regard to photographic magazines is simply an instructional how-to magazine. We like to think that we deliver a short photo course to your door every month. And we feel that the best report that you can give any piece of equipment is to do a feature article using that piece of equipment (hence, the Petersen's advertising slogan, "consider us equipment"). You buy a camera because it feels good and you can afford it. Once you have it, you pose the question of, 'O.M., what the devil do I take pictures of?' That's the function we try to perform. How to get pure enjoyment from their cameras. And that's what has endeared us to our audience; and the manufacturers, by the way.

Predictably, Petersen's readership survey figures lend support to the viability of the editorial concept. Of the subscribers to Photographic who responded to the questionnaire:

--66 per cent of the subscribers named "How To" articles in photo magazines as helpful. 62 per cent named advertisements in photo magazines as helpful, and 55 per cent named editorial reviews in photo magazines as helpful in deciding about purchasing cameras or other photographic equipment.

--23 per cent of them named "How To" articles in photo magazines as the most helpful source, 22 per cent named editorial reviews as the most helpful source, 18 per cent named friends, and 15 per cent named advertisements.

--Of all respondents, 93 per cent of them rate Petersen's Photographic's editorial content as good or better compared to 46 per cent of them rating Modern Photography's editorial content as good or better, and 49 per cent of them rating Popular Photography good or better, and 33 per cent of them rating Camera 35 good or better.

--Of all respondents, 84 per cent of them said they considered Petersen's Photographic the most informative of the magazines. Of only those who subscribe to each of the magazines, 84 per cent of Petersen's subscribers named it as being most informative; 78 per cent of Modern Photography's subscribers named Petersen's as being most informative, compared to 10 per cent of them who rated their own magazine as most informative; and 72 per cent of the Camera 35 subscribers named Petersen's as most informative compared to 15 per cent of them who named Camera 35 as most informative.

All these figures pertaining to reader interest and how it ultimately relates to advertising are open to debate. However, all of the editors with whom I spoke appeared to feel that Petersen's embodies a valid editorial content. And according to Farber's recollection, "We are the only successful photo magazine to begin, I believe, in the last 20 years." Indeed, the magazine's growth has been impressive. It is a matter of speculation how much the publication was helped by the fact that it was one of Petersen's, "the world's largest publisher of special interest magazines." From the standpoint of the potential reader, this probably would not help at all, since the name was unknown in the photography field. However, it may have had an impact on such areas of distribution, since the mechanism for circulating the book was already well known to the Petersen organization.

Petersen's has already begun to publish a variety of separate instrumental books as an adjunct to the magazine. These include: Basic Guide to Photography, Blueprint Series, Darkroom Techniques, Lighting Techniques, Architectural Photography, Pocket Camera Photography, Movie Making, 16mm Movie Making, Video Tape Recording, Photo Equipment, Buyer's Guide, and Photographing Children.

SUMMARY

Questions as to the editorial treatment of their products which advertisers might raise with the publisher (or editor) of a photography magazine are endemic to this particular field of consumer magazines. This aspect of photo magazine publishing has been highlighted in the report only because it is of special importance to the photo magazine field as a whole; and virtually unique to photo magazines within the realm of consumer magazines in general. Although I have no hard statistics concerning the number or magnitude of objections which advertisers raise with the magazines, it seems to me reasonable to suppose they are relatively few, for three reasons.

First, through the use of equipment in their magazines' feature material, equipment manufacturers receive a tremendous amount of free advertising. Even in portfolios, where a number of pictures are reproduced, it is common to include information explaining the type of camera and lens which was used, as well as shutter speed, aperture setting, etc.. In test reports or comparisons of products, the material being considered is devoted even more free exposure. Often, if the feature is considered a significant one in a given issue, the equipment will appear on the cover. For example, Modern Photography's December 1974 issue includes on the cover, "47 Top Models Described, Tested and Analyzed," and displays many of the cameras which are reported on within. In advertising copy, an advertiser will often quote what a test report from one of the magazines has said about his product. And each of the magazines has a department which explains new photographic products and their uses, so consumers are constantly being shown, at no charge to the manufacturer, innovative pieces of equipment.

Second, while it does indeed seem that the magazines attempt to be honest about what they print about equipment, it is seldom that one will read a totally unfavorable review of a product. Perhaps this is at least in part due to the screening process of the magazines as regards what they will or will not include in their consumer reports. On the other hand, because of the abundance of good quality equipment available to photographers, there seems to be less and less really inferior equipment on the market today. Several camera equipment dealers have told me that the gap between the best quality equipment and the others is narrowing all the time.

Third, the market for photographic equipment being what it is, it is difficult to see how a major manufacturer of photographic products could get along without some advertising in these magazines. More often than not, one will encounter the same advertisements in each of the four magazines when the ads are from one of the larger producers: Nikon, Canon, Minolta, Vivitar, Kodak, etc.. Since the rate of duplicate readership is generally high among photography magazines, this suggests that each magazine has managed to develop its own editorial concept, distinct enough that advertisers recognize the need to spread their copy around.

What I'm saying is that one might guess that, to a certain extent, advertising space "sells itself" in photographic magazines -- at least much more so than has formerly been the case. Modern Photography's Keppler characterized the prevailing trend in the photo magazine publishing field in the last quarter-century:

> The emphasis used to be on the "how to make enlargers out of cigar boxes, how to develop and print film, etc.." They were very simple articles, devoted to very simple problems. In terms of product reviews: Basically, if a guy came in with an ad, he got a good product review; and if he didn't come in, he didn't get a product review at all. In other words, a magazine was

> pretty much at the mercy of the advertising department.
>
> Like the general practitioner, photography has gotten more complex today. And the editorials of all the magazines have become much more independent than they used to be, admittedly some being more independent than others. And the sophistication of the audience and their knowledge is much greater today than it was then. In 1950, most of the famous photographers were commercial photographers who had big studios. And people would write articles and say, 'Wow, look at the unbelievable amount of equipment these people have.' And you would find photographs that the average photographer had no ability to take himself.
>
> Today what we have is the photographer reading the magazine and demanding that the pictures he sees be the kind he can take. He no longer cares about a commercial photographer with a studio. He's interested maybe in a documentary photographer or a travel photographer who will basically have the same equipment he has. Therefore he can look at the person's work and say, 'Look, I could do exactly the same thing, basically with the same equipment.' And basically, if he was in the same place, he could.

So, as a function of the general increase in leisure time and an accelerated interest in photography, consumer photo magazines have changed. How do the editors of the four magazines see the future of the field? Keppler, who was with Modern's staff since 1950 and has seen the field during leaner times, said simply, "There's plenty of room for everybody."

Camera 35's Hughes noted that the circulation of his magazine was dented slightly by the appearance of Petersen's Photographic on the market, but has since fully recovered and, in fact, increased. Based on the loyal character of his readership and the distinct quality of the editorial concepts of the four magazines, he is optimistic about the field as a whole.

Ken Poli of Popular Photography predicts that the larger publications may try to match Petersen's Photographic, to an extent, in the amount of material devoted to "how to" subjects. "But I also think that this is simply good for photography in general, if it makes a little competition among the magazines," Poli concluded.

In response to the question, "Is there room for all four magazines? Petersen's Photographic's Paul Farber was most optimistic:

> I hope so. I hope there's not only room for all four, I hope there are many more of them out there. I'm a firm believer in the idea that if any one of these magazines hurts and goes by the boards, it's going to hurt us all, it's going to hurt photography. I feel that anything that helps photography is going to help all of us. I personally would like to see many more magazines out there. Special interest groups. We carved out our own little audience. Pop has theirs, Modern has theirs, Camera 35 has theirs.

There are so many other areas that haven't been touched yet. So it all complements what we're doing. When I say we, it's the editorial we, all of us, everybody in photo publishing.

As a personal note, I might add that I regularly read or at least browse through all four magazines whenever time allows. Putting myself in the "advanced amateur" category, it indeed seems true that one can read the different magazines for different reasons. Although I sometimes feel hampered by a gap in technical expertise in certain areas, I find that I nonetheless profit from the major part of the editorial content. The argument concerning the importance -- or lack of importance -- of one's equipment in the enjoyment of photography and the production of quality photographs is one which I would rather not get into. It makes some difference, although it is unclear how much. For what it's worth, I find all four magazines to be educational and enjoyable, as well as thoughtfully and attractively put together.

NOTES

[1] From Standard Rate and Date Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Publications: Camera 35 is designed and edited for the photographer working with the 35mm format. Editorial emphasis: Photography as a medium of visual communication. Using images: How the photographer sees and relates to people, places and things. Picture essays and portfolios explored in-depth to provide a sense of the photographer's vision. Regular columns report on innovations in equipment, techniques to improve results, roundup of late news in the Arts and Industry, and darkroom work with emphasis on color printing. Book reviews and critiques are regular features.

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The Dream Books vs. The Action Books: American Home, Better Homes and Gardens, House and Gardens, House Beautiful

Karen Larson

The four home magazines separate into two groups: the dream books, House & Garden and House Beautiful, and the action books, Better Homes and Gardens and American Home. The dream books display sumptuous homes and elaborate interiors. The practical realities, such as costs and creation instructions, often are disregarded. The action books generally present lower-to-middle-priced homes. Often the interiors, and sometimes the houses themselves, can be created by readers with little or no professional assistance. Attention is given to costs, materials and instructions.

"Better Homes and Gardens is closer to reality and more action-oriented than House Beautiful and House & Garden," says Edward Fox, head of the Chicago advertising office for Better Homes and Gardens. "How many people can afford a quarter to a half a million dollar house?"

According to a written statement of the Better Homes and Gardens editorial concept, the magazine strives to provide service to husbands and wives "in the form of ideas, help, information and inspiration to achieve a better home and family. Inherent in this philosophy is the editorial responsibility to move these husbands and wives to action."

"At least half of the ads in Better Homes and Gardens," said Fox, "call a reader to action. They ask the reader to do something, such as send for a decorating booklet or tear out a coupon to take to a dealer."

The issues of Better Homes and Gardens are packed with practical, action-oriented articles such as "How to Glamorize a Bathroom" (January 1974), "How to Make a Good House Better" (March 1974) and "How to Make a Small Kitchen Measure Up" (May 1974).

Better Homes and Gardens also is concerned with stretching the dollar. A series of articles answering the question, "Where Does Your Food Dollar Go?" ran in the January to May 1974 issues. The February 1974 issue also included "Tax Tips to Save You Money" and "How to Save Gas When You Drive." The May 1974 issue focused on "Small Scale Remodeling: Great Effects at Low Cost" and the August issue on how to "Personalize a Room for a Pittance." The November issue included "Sleep-Cheap Motels: Why Pay for Unused Frills?" and "New Ways to Pay Less for the Things You Buy."

American Home also is practical and action-oriented. The magazine is "functional as opposed to escape" and "do-it-yourself as opposed to have-it-done," says Joseph Bayard, head of the Chicago advertising office.

"American Home deals with the real world, not the dream world," said Bayard and caters to the reader who finds "inate fulfillment and self-satisfaction from doing a job himself."

A special eight-page section, "Know-How," introduced in April 1973, was devoted entirely to how-tos ranging from how to make slipcovers (April 1973) to how to make great one-of-a-kind homes out of bargain buildings (November 1973). But how-to projects and instructions were not limited to the special section. The November 1973 issue also included such articles as "Ten Homeowner Emergencies You Can Handle Yourself," "How One Man Built This Spectacular Home," "25 Delicious Ways to Dress Up Vegetables," and "How to Get Around Today's Mortgage Drought."

Both American Home and Better Homes and Gardens offer house plans, craft kits and project instructions that action-oriented readers can send for at reasonable prices. Included in the November 1974 issue of Better Homes and Gardens were coupons offering kits for wall plaques, Christmas decorations, aquariums, wooden toys, chairs, needlepoints, and girls' holiday dress patterns. Also, instructions for other holiday gift items were scattered throughout the magazine.

Similarly, the November 1974 issue of American Home offered eight crewel kits, a catalog of needlework projects, and a Christmas cookie house kit.

Both magazines offer an array of special books. Better Homes and Gardens has a line of hard-cover cookbooks and instruction manuals. The Creative Home Library is published in association with Better Homes and Gardens and offers such selections as Early American Crafts and the Complete Guide to Quilting.

American Home offers Spring/Summer and Fall/Winter editions of a soft-cover American Home Crafts and a hard-cover cookbook.

House Beautiful and House & Garden, however, move away from the do-it-yourself-for-less concept. "House Beautiful and House & Garden are dream magazines that cater to a higher-income, more affluent audience than Better Homes and Gardens or American Home," says John H. Reock, head of House & Gardens' Chicago advertising office. "Better Homes and Gardens and American Home are practical. They might offer an article '50 Decorating Ideas Under $100' while we'd offer "50 Decorating Ideas Under $1,000.'"

Mr. Reock also labels the dream books "snob magazines" because their circulations are smaller and audience demographics higher. According to the 1973 Simmons Update, the average audience for House Beautiful is 3,847,000, for House & Garden 5,873,000, for American Home 6,169,000 and for Better Homes and Gardens 22,655,000.[1]

House Beautiful, with the lowest circulation, attracts the greatest percentage of adults owning homes valued at $50,000 or more. House & Garden, with the next lowest circulation attracts the next greatest percentage (HB 10%, H&G 8%, AM 6%, BH&G 5%).[2]

Also, House Beautiful has the highest percentage of adults who graduated from college, House & Garden having the next highest (HB 20%, H&G 17%, AH 15%, BH&G 13%).[3]

House Beautiful and House & Garden tied when it came to the percentage of managers, professionals, officials and proprietors in the audience (HB 22%, H&G 22%, AM 15%, BH&G 11%).[4]

House Beautiful and House & Garden are concerned with what's new in elegant decorating and building. "House Beautiful is an idea magazine," says Tom M. Welch, head of House Beautiful's Chicago advertising office. "The houses in the magazine are architecturally interesting and spark the interest of our readers."

And House Beautiful editors have always wanted to display architecturally interesting homes. In the March 1959 issue, Editor Elizabeth Gordon stated her conception of what the House Beautiful house should be:

> The houses we pick may be either expensive or inexpensive, but

> regardless of cost they must be significant. They must "say something" - as fine design, as good function, as low maintenance, as skillful use of site, or as a personal expression. In short, we tend to choose not the typical but rather the untypical and the unique. We show you the upper limits of what is possible for people to aspire to - since Americans, and especially House Beautiful readers, are "always on the grow."

In accordance with the dream concept, the October 1974 issue of House Beautiful focused on sumptuous rooms created by well-known designers. Costs and instructions were not included. Ideas were offered, but the ways and means to carry out those ideas were ignored. In the same issue, a spread was devoted to the different desks a homeowner could buy, but the prices of the desks were not included.

The October issue of House & Garden concentrated on elaborate designs by America's top decorators. Costs were disregarded. In the same issue, eight pages were devoted to a Saltbox house which could be constructed from pre-fabricated panels. In this case, the price was given, $74,500, but the house still belongs in the dream category for most Americans. Also, four pages were devoted to finely-crafted Baker furniture, one of the most expensive furniture lines in the world.

Neither House & Garden nor House Beautiful concentrates on how-tos. House Beautiful in the October issue made two special offers to its readers but, significantly, unlike in American Home and Better Homes and Gardens, the offers were not for kits but for finished products including a set of lithographs and basket wall-hangings.

Also, unlike the action magazines, the November issues of House & Garden and House Beautiful did not concentrate on Christmas gifts to make. House Beautiful only displayed store-bought gifts and devoted eight pages to items from such prestige stores as Cartier, Gucci, Henri Bendel, Abercrombie and Fitch, Bergdorf Goodman and Hammacher Schlemmer. House & Garden devoted two pages to making needlepoint pillows, but eight pages to gifts to buy.

The dream magazines consider themselves not only the reporters of new ideas in elegance but also the directors and leaders of taste and fashion. By appearing in House Beautiful and House & Garden, specific colors, designs, and furnishings become fashionable.

Significantly, houses displayed in House Beautiful are labeled "Pace-Setter" homes. They set the pace; they shape the buyer's tastes. "The unconventional," says Welch, "becomes the acceptable by appearing in House Beautiful."

Moreover, every year since 1947, House & Garden has introduced a new color palette of about 35 colors to its readers and advertisers. According to the House & Garden color program report, "House & Garden is a color leader, not a follower." Each year colors that have reached maximum saturation (old colors) are eliminated, colors showing a rise in popular acceptance are featured and new forecast colors are added. The colors are shown to manufacturers and department stores in January, allowing them to advertise products in those colors. Then the palette is introduced to readers in September, and the March issue shows how to use the colors in new and varied combinations. House & Garden not only reflects consumer tastes, but it shapes them as well.

Accordingly, the dream magazines and the action magazines have reacted differently to the housing "depression." In 1972, the housing industry started 2.4 million units and by August 1974, the annual rate was down to 1.1 million.[5] Since January 1972, the average price of a new house in the United States has jumped from $24,700 to $37,100.[6] A house that would have cost $16,000 right after World War II now costs $40,000.[7] Also, if a buyer is lucky enough to obtain a mortgage, the interest rates have increased to an average 9 per cent or about two-thirds higher than the mid-1960s rates.[8]

Examination of 1974 issues of House & Garden and House Beautiful shows the dream magazines have ignored the housing slowdown. House & Garden's forecast statement in the January 1974 issue mentions the energy dilemma and the environment crisis, but not the housing recession.

The reason for this, Reock said, is that "For the homes we get involved with, there is no slowdown. $100,000 houses are not affected." And Welch said, "People who can afford $90,000 homes are still going to buy them and can still arrange to get money."

According to a Time report, Reock and Welch are correct in their assumption that high-income families are relatively unaffected by the slowdown:

> Upper-income home owners have not been severely affected by the collapse of the mortgage market. The wealthy still trade $100,000 houses and co-op apartments among themselves - though sellers sometimes have to accept paper payment in the form of private mortgages from buyers who cannot get bank financings.[9]

However, Reock said more remodeling and home improvement articles have been included in House & Garden due to the housing recession and the subsequent preoccupation with the home one has. But he emphasizes, "The people most affected are those with the more limited incomes."

Similarly, there have been no drastic changes in the content of House Beautiful, though Welch said, "The emphasis has been altered. We're not showing as many exteriors as before, but displaying more interiors and remodelings." But the change has been so subtle that "A normal reader would probably not notice the difference."

Welch did say, however, that a seven-to eight-page focus on townhouses was being planned for a House Beautiful issue. Townhouses, condominiums and mobile homes are what more and more buyers will have to settle for as the detached single family dwellings become more expensive and as land prices increase (land prices have risen 59% in the past 50 years).[10]

However, the action magazines, American Home and Better Homes and Gardens, have dealt more openly with the housing recession. Though both magazines always have emphasized remodeling and home improvement, they have increased such coverage as more of their readers postpone new home purchases.

Also, in various columns and editorials, the action magazines have discussed the facts behind the housing recession and the ways to cope with this recession. Their approach is action-oriented. "We urge readers to make their moves now because housing won't get less expensive," said

Fox of Better Homes and Gardens. The Better Homes and Gardens money management column has dealt with such topics as "Second-mortgages: is it a good way to get money?" (March 1974), "How to finance a small home improvement job" (May 1974) and "Ten ways to help you get mortgage money today" (August 1974).

Moreover, in February 1974, eight pages of Better Homes and Gardens were devoted to "How to get your first personalized house." The article offered encouragement and support:

> In spite of the many challenges facing you, it's still possible to build a home that's personalized to your family's needs, habits and budget. The formula: large amounts of planning, shopping, sacrificing, comparing and persevering.

And apparently readers have not been daunted by talk of a housing "depression." They still are interested in home construction. The Better Homes and Gardens semi-annual publication devoted to new home construction and sold only on newsstands is "selling at a rate that indicates interest in custom-building," said Fox. Also according to Fox, the Better Homes and Garden house plans have declined only slightly in sales.

American Home, too, has dealt openly with the housing recession and encourages its readers to buy soon. A June 1974 article claimed, "Amid gloomy trends and the vagaries of an uncertain economy, one possible note can be heard: Now is a very good time for home buying."

Other 1974 American Home articles that encouraged home-buying include "20 ways to sell your house for the best price" (April), "Should you use a broker when buying a house?" (February) and "How to get around today's mortgage drought" (November).

Moreover, in past economic crises, American Home has taken the optimistic view. In 1969, when land was up more than $5,000 per family since 1956[11] and home building had dropped off 25%,[12] the March issue stated there is "A brighter side to the housing picture. Skyrocketing land values have obliged architects and builders to come up with more fruitful ideas for land use." Included in the same issue was an article advising readers to cope with high land prices by building on less expensive hillside land.

Though the home magazines easily are divisible into dream vs. action categories, they are not as easily separable when considering general editorial content. Nevertheless, House Beautiful and House & Garden can be considered "shelter" magazines, dealing primarily with a family's physical environment such as their house, their furniture, their table settings, their garden, etc. Also, some consideration is given to food, travel and health.

American Home is a "home service" magazine, according to Bayard, and deals with building, interior decorating, food and crafts. Better Homes and Gardens, said Fox, is a "family magazine," encompassing a broad range of home and family subjects.

Examination of the Lloyd H. Hall editorial content report dated September 1974 shows American Home is as much a shelter magazine as is House Beautiful and House & Garden. Home furnishings and building comprise 72.6% of House Beautiful's editorial content, 66.1% of American

Home's, 62.7% of House & Garden's and only 40.1% of Better Homes and Gardens'.[13]

But what makes American Home "home service" instead of "shelter" is its emphasis on crafts and food, said Bayard. Food comprises a sizable portion of American Home's editorial (19.0%), a large share of Better Homes and Gardens' (23.9%) but only 11.3% of House & Garden's and 7.5% of House Beautiful's.[14] Interestingly enough, Better Homes and Gardens carries about as much food editorial as the recognized food books, Woman's Day (24.1%) and Family Circle (23.1%)[15]

According to the Hall report, Better Homes and Gardens covers a broader range of subjects in more depth than the other three magazines. Home furnishings, building, and food comprise only 64% of Better Homes and Gardens editorial but 85.1% of American Home's, 80.1% of House Beautiful's and 74% of House & Garden's.[16] Better Homes and Gardens has a large percentage of travel, health and general interest (insurance, savings, pets, humor, etc.) compared with the other home magazines. Travel is 9.6% of Better Homes and Gardens' editorial, 0.9% of American Home's, 1.8% of House Beautiful's and 1.1% of House & Garden's. Health is 3.4% of Better Homes and Gardens' editorial, 0.3% of American Home's, 0.1% of House Beautiful's and 1.5% of House & Garden's. General interest composes 4.9% of Better Homes and Gardens' content, 2.6% of American Home's, 1.9% of House Beautiful's and 1.4% of House & Garden's.[17]

Better Homes and Gardens, said Fox, is devoted to helping provide its readers with a "better home and a healthier, happier family. We have a clear cut editorial philosophy and we faithfully adhere to it. We direct our magazine to husbands and wives, to men in their roles as husbands and fathers, to women in their roles as housewives and mothers."

Besides building, furnishing and food editorial, Better Homes and Gardens includes articles on family health, money management, legal guidance, automobile maintenance, low-cost travel and social relationships.

Over the years, Better Homes and Gardens has changed little in its editorial concept, although it has experienced nine editors since its formation in 1922, the Meredith Publishing Company has owned it since then.

Features in the most recent issues of Better Homes and Gardens can be traced back many years. Recipes to clip and save in the Better Homes and Garden Cookbook have appeared since 1937 and "Cook-of-the-Month" prizes have long been awarded. Items showing men in the kitchen always have appeared and today a special column entitled "He Cooks" is devoted to the male chef. Even past article subjects have reappeared in recent issues, such as planning a co-op nursery which was titled "A Blueprint for a Co-op Nursery" in October 1955, and "How to Start a Co-op Nursery School" in May 1974.

But though Better Homes and Gardens' editorial concept has remained almost the same, its circulation has not. The May 1950 issue had 338 pages, cost 25 Cents, and had a circulation of 3,400,000 families.[18] Today the magazine is about half that size, costs 60 cents, but has a circulation of close to 8 million.[19]

Over the years, House Beautiful has also adhered to its present editorial concept. Even in 1953, House Beautiful was dealing with the non-practical side of housing. The October 1953 issue included a statement by Frank Lloyd Wright entitled "For a Democratic Architecture" and an editorial by Editor Elizabeth Gordon on "Does Design have Social Significance?" Gordon's editorial dealt with whether or not "we choose the architecture that will encourage the development of industry or we choose the architecture and design of collectivism and totalitarian control."

Gordon was editor from 1941 to 1964. During that time, the circulation rose from about 200,000 to over 900,000. In 1965 Sarah Tomerlin Lee became editor and in 1970 Wallace Guenther took over. House Beautiful, owned by Hearst Enterprises since 1934, reached its circulation peak in 1968 when 981,168 copies were sold.[20] Today the magazine has a circulation of 891,224 and sells for one dollar.[21]

Like House Beautiful, House & Garden followed its present editorial policy in the early 50s. Elegance and grandeur were emphasized. The December 1950 issue devoted six pages to a Renaissance theater built by Palladio and six pages to a display of Italian handicrafts touring American museums. The October 1950 issue, focusing on the theme "Live as well as you look," displayed the homes of wealthy, elegant personages.

But by 1955, House & Garden had taken an interest in "do-it-yourself." The May 1955 issue was dedicated to "over 1,600,000 young couples who will marry, decorate their first home, give their first big party and look forward to their first baby." That issue was packed with "how-tos" - "How to make any room an extra guest room," "How to choose and use the new fabrics," "How to plan a good small house," etc. The June 1955 issue had 25 pages of do-it-yourself ideas including "How to plan a home workshop," "How to install a kitchen," and "How to build a room-divider."

However, in the 60s, House & Garden again concentrated on the nonpractical side of housing. Twelve pages in the January 1965 issue were given to the remodeling of President Johnson's magnificent guest house in Washington, D.C. In the same issue, eight pages were devoted to a one-of-a-kind cliff house which looks like "a gargantuan abstract sculpture hewn from a sheer escarpment."

Also, House & Garden's editorials in the 60s, just as they are now, were more idealistic than realistic. In April 1965 the editors wrote, "In any house worthy of being labeled architecture, not only the exterior form, but the interior spaces, the colors, textures, light, acoustics have a poetic quality that exerts an emotional appeal? In March of the same year, they argued, "The only legitimate reason for buying a painting is because it does something for you (rather than for your room), because it says something to you."

During the 60's, Harriet Burket was editor. Burket took William M. Lowe's place in 1960 and remained until 1972 when Mary Jane Pool took over. In 1967, House and Garden, owned by Conde' Nast since 1915, reached a circulation peak of 1,253,330.[22] Today, the magazine has a circulation of 1,136,444 and costs one dollar.[23]

Of the four home magazines, American Home has veered the most from its present editorial concept, perhaps because the magazine has switched owners and editors several times. In the past 25 years, the editorship has changed hands five times and the ownership four times. In 1949, the editor was Mrs. J. Austin; in 1959, John Mack Carter; in

1961, Hubbard H. Cobb; in 1959, Fred R. Smith and in 1974, John Mack Carter.

American Home was owned by the American Home Corporation in 1949, by Curtis Publications in 1958, by Downe Communications in 1968 and by American Home Publishing in 1974.

John Mack Carter, besides being editor of the magazine at two different times, was president of the publishing company, Downe Communications, when it owned American Home and is now the owner of American Home Publishing Corporation.

Besides changing editors and owners, American Home has changed in size, price, and yearly number of issues. In September 1969, the magazine was reduced from a 680-line to a 429-line page size. It also was cut in price from 50 cents to 35 cents, and increased to 12 issues from 10 issues a year. In September 1973 the magazine was raised to its 1969 price of 50 cents, and in November 1974 the price was 60 cents.

American Home today has a circulation of 3,740,646.[24] It reached its circulation peak of 3,773,803 in 1963.[25]

During the 40's and 50's, American Home was a how-to-do-it magazine. Articles, such as "Custom-build your own storage walls" (December 1949), "How to launder two tons of clothes with ease" (March 1950) and "How to use paint and varnish removers" (March 1959) dominated each issue.

American Home also catered to the varied interests of the family. The February 1950 issue had articles for the retired couple and for the young family including "R_X for Retirement" (how a grandmother remodeled her retirement home) and "Play Yard Today -- Garden Tomorrow" (how to plan a children's play yard that will eventually become a garden).

By the early 1960's, the magazine was losing its practical, how-to flavor. The December 1961 issue had no Christmas gifts to make and featured a flaming wild duck for Christmas dinner. Americah Home was beginning to acquire facets of the dream magazines as it moved away from do-it-yourself projects and started to include elegant designer homes, some of which were owned by famous persons. The September 1961 issue included a feature titled "At Home with Huntley and Brinkley." The White House flower arrangements, with their "Jacqueline Kennedy Look," were displayed in the October 1961 issue.

Also in the 60's, American Home seemed to be aiming at a younger, more "with-it" crowd. The summer 1968 issue was a "Special on Love" and the October 1969 issue was devoted to "Light and Sound," with an emphasis on futuristic interior decorating and entertaining.

However, in the 1970's, the magazine again took on a how-to flavor. In the April 1973 issue, an eight-page how-to section, "Know-How," was introduced. The October 1974 "Know-How" titled "The Money-Saving, Easy-Does-It, Kitchen Handbook" supplied tips on what foods to buy and how to prepare them. The November 1974 "Know-How" dealt with "How bargain buildings can make great one-of-a-kind homes."

Though all 70's issues include how-to articles, not all 70's issues adhere to the same editorial concept. In June 1974, changes were made in American Home's layout and content. The cover was transformed from a small picture surrounded by white to a bleed photograph with the logo superimposed. The logo changed from streamline letters to more traditional characters. The table of contents was divided into three vertical columns and dotted with pictures.

With changes in the layout came changes in the editorial policy. Articles on beauty, clothing and travel were eliminated. The columns "Lifestyle," focusing on a different family each month and "Woman Driver," supplying tips on car maintenance, were removed.

In June 1974, American Home concentrated on building, decorating, crafts and food. It had moved away from the modern in home design and focused on the traditional. In early 1970 issues, the traditional and the modern were shown side by side. The April 1971 issue showed space-age homes made of polyurethane foam and, immediately afterwards, traditional pewter tea sets. The March 1971 issue focused on a modern geometric house and a traditionally-decorated brownstone.

Since June 1974, the traditional has been emphasized. "We stress the traditional rather than the modern," said Bayard. "We don't show way-out houses or modular homes anymore."

Articles on antiques appear in every issue. Craft features concentrate on traditional projects such as making country-style collages from cloth and ricrac (October 1974), or nostalgic Christmas decorations from red and white checked gingham (December 1974).

The July 1974 issue showed a country church converted into a home. The June 1974 issue displayed a traditional Saltbox house and early American furniture reproductions. In September 1974, American Home concentrated on country-style decorating and traditional Pennsylvania Dutch designs.

All four home magazines devote about half of their total pages to editorial. In 1973, Better Homes and Gardens carried 49.6% editorial, American Home 52.7%, House Beautiful 54.1%, and House & Garden 52.4%.[26]

Of the four magazines, Better Homes and Gardens has the largest number of advertising pages and the greatest amount of advertising revenue. In 1973, Better Homes and Gardens ran 1,185.42 ad pages and made $57,760,064 in advertising revenues. House & Garden ran 984.28 pages and took in $10,204,754. House Beautiful ran 928.34 pages for $8,006,775 and American Home 718.35 pages for $12,077,476.[27]

In 1972, American Home ran 889.44 ad pages, or 19% more than in 1973. The ad revenue was $16,632,680, or 27% more than in 1973.[28] This discrepancy between the 1972 and the 1973 figures resulted when American Home cut its circulation rate base from 3,650,000 to 2,500,000 in January 1973. To compensate for the loss in ad revenue, the magazine's price of 35 cents was raised to 50 cents in September 1973 and to 60 cents in November 1973.

In 1973, food and food product advertisers accounted for 271.76 ad pages in Better Homes and Gardens. Retail and/or direct-by-mail products accounted for 162.02 pages, household furnishings for 130.17 pages, household equipment and supplies for 113.81 pages and building materials, equipment and fixtures for 78.72 pages. Better Homes and Gardens had no cigarette advertisements in 1973 and only .17 pages of smoking material ads in 1972.[29]

For American Home, the largest number of ad pages in any one category was 151.58 pages in retail and/or direct-by-mail advertising. American Home ran 82.74 pages of household furnishings, 34.51 pages of household equipment and supplies, and 42.28 pages of building materials, equipment and fixtures. The number of food advertisements tot[illegible] 51.50

pages.[30]

Compared with Better Homes and Gardens, American Home carried more publishing and media ad pages (AM 40.51, BH&G 35.40), more drugs and remedies pages (AH 26.78, BH&G .33) and more smoking materials (AH 78.62, BH&G 0).[31]

Of the four home magazines, House Beautiful carried the greatest number of retail and/or direct-by-mail ad pages -- 341.03 pages. (House & Garden came in second with 295.39 pages.) House Beautiful carried 284.29 pages of household furnishings, 68.65 pages of household equipment and supplies and 104.30 pages of building materials, equipment and fixtures. Food and food products accounted for only 5.91 ad pages.[32]

In House & Garden, household furnishing ad accounted for 277.10 pages, household equipment and supplies for 90.68 pages and building materials, equipment and fixtures for 131.31 pages, It carried 25.06 gardening ad pages, or about 10 gardening ad pages more than House Beautiful, and only 9.32 pages of food and food products advertisements.[33]

According to the 1973 Simmons Update, House & Garden costs only $1.51 to reach one thousand members of its average audience with a black and white page ad. Better Homes and Gardens costs $1.69, American Home $1.87, and House Beautiful $1.97. But Better Homes and Gardens only costs $2.07 to reach one thousand members of its audience with a four-color page ad. House & Garden costs $2.20, American Home $2.41, and House Beautiful $2.86.[34]

Of the home magazines, Better Homes and Gardens has the most flexible advertising plan. It states in its advertising material, "Tell us what you want and we will see if it's possible." Better Homes and Gardens offers about 50 state editions and 56 top metro markets. The metro markets may be purchased singly, in combination with each other or in combination with state markets or segments of state markets. The total circulation in the 56 metro markets is 5,637,000.

Special "less-than-full-state" market areas are available including New York less Metro, New Jersey less New York Metro, Eastern Pennsylvania, Western Pennsylvania, Northern Illinois, Southern Illinois, Northern California and Southern California.

Also, special test marketing areas are offered such as Erie, Pa., Peoria, Ill. or Western Wisconsin. These test markets may be used in combination with top metro markets or state markets.

Better Homes and Gardens also offers a "Super Spot" edition with a circulation of 1,100,000 in high-income zip codes in 104 metro markets. Says Better Homes and Gardens, "This edition is tailor-made for advertisers of high-ticket products or services."

A "Super A" edition also is available. With a circulation of 3,884,000, it covers the metro marketing areas surrounding and including every "A" county in the United States. These 25 marketing areas are: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dallas-Fort Worth, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Miami, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Diego, San Francisco-Oakland, Seattle-Tacoma and Washington, D.C.

Moreover, three different regional travel sections are available. "Travel East," with a circulation rate base of 1,258,000, carries travel editorial and travel advertising of interest to eastern readers and appears each month in Baltimore, Boston, Hartford-New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Providence and Washington D.C. "Travel West," with a circulation rate base of 1,022,000, appears nine times a year in Los Angeles, Phoenix, Portland, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco-Oakland, Seattle-Tacoma and Spokane. "Travel Great Lakes" combines travel editorial and travel advertising of interest to midwestern readers and has a circulation rate base of 1,615,000. It appears six times a year in the states of Indiana, Michigan, Northern Illinois, Ohio and Wisconsin. Combinations of the three regional sections are available.

Besides regional flexibility, Better Homes and Gardens offers page-size flexibility. Along with the standard options -- the 632-line page, the 429-line page and the exclusive digest page -- Better Homes and Gardens offers the non-exclusive digest page, which is slightly smaller than the exclusive digest page and about $8,000 cheaper, and the three-fourths page with 474 lines.

And finally, Better Homes and Gardens offers printing flexibility. In September 1974, it gave national advertisers the chance to use rotogravure printing instead of letterpress. Until then, only the main editorial section was printed rotogravure. Rotogravure is highly desirable because it reproduces photographs exactly and duplicates subtle color variations.

American Home offers advertisers 14 regional editions. It also introduced, in the June 1974 issue, a themed food-editorial section designed to allow advertisers of food and food-related products to gear their promotions to editorial content. According to the American Home promotional material, "Editorial focus will be on the kitchen. Coverage will include food, menu suggestions, efficient appliance utilization and new products." The theme of the July issue was "Easy, Breezy Summer Cooking" and November's focus was "Thanksgiving Cornucopia."

Neither House Beautiful nor House & Garden have regional editions, but they do offer split-runs to national advertisers. Advertisers can gear their copy and dealer listings to any or all of nine specified geographic regions.

Also, the editorial pages of House & Garden and House Beautiful contain listings of booklets prepared by leading manufacturers on their products. On an attached coupon, readers circle the booklets they want and send the coupon to the magazine. Some booklets are free, others range in cost from 25 cents to $2.95.

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Religious Magazines: *A.D.*, *Catholic Digest*, *Commentary*, *The Episcopalian*, *The Lutheran Moody Monthly*, *United Methodists Today*

Pamela K. Luecke

When the *UNITED CHURCHMAN* ceased publication in June, 1974, the Associated Church Press' *NEWSLOG* reported it in a blurb entitled "Another Magazine Ceases." Such a headline reveals the commonplaceness of church magazine crises. One by one, in the past several years, publications have been hit with a myriad of financial woes.

The year 1970 in particular was an "apocalyptic time" for many religious journals, according to an article in *CHRISTIAN CENTURY*. "In the United States, Britain and Canada, a large number of them simply died," it said, "Some managed to merge before folding."[1]

Religious magazines have been subject to the same economic factors which are hurting all consumer magazines: rising production costs and postal rates, decreasing advertising revenue, and more competition. But religious publications have been struck as well by an "almost unbelievable combination of misfortunes:"

(1) Circulations have dropped -- church members often express anger at a denominational action or stance by cancelling a subscription to that church's magazine.

(2) Ad revenue sources have dwindled -- the religious book and ecclesiastical paraphernalia markets "collapsed" in 1970; and secular advertisers turned more to direct mail and other outlets.

(3) Budgets have been squeezed -- the stock market's recent downswing has been particularly hard on church-invested funds, and general church giving has been significantly low.[2]

There are also internal reasons for religious journal crises. Many magazines were unable to find a "solid identity in the face of a communications revolution and the critically related generation gap in reading habits," according to *CHRISTIAN CENTURY*. Others have been unable to cope with competition from the electronic media and a "growing corps of able religious writers for newsweeklies and metropolitan newspapers." Still others have suffered because their reporting was "too tardy, too superficial, too lacking in political self-consciousness" for today's society.[3]

In this report, I will examine seven "religious" publications which have in some way survived the turmoil of 1970: *A.D.*, *THE LUTHERAN*, *CATHOLIC DIGEST*, *MOODY MONTHLY*, *UNITED METHODISTS TODAY*, *THE EPISCOPALIAN*, and *COMMENTARY* (in decreasing order of circulation). I will consider their audiences, editorial concepts, graphic presentations, finances, advertising, and interrelations with other magazines. Because this report examines only seven magazines in a field of several hundred, it is perhaps dangerous to extend conclusions to the field at large. It is hoped at least, however, that a thorough look at seven cases in point will shed light on common directions and predicaments.

I. AUDIENCE and CIRCULATION

Of the seven magazines studied here, only three are audited by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC): A.D., CATHOLIC DIGEST, and THE LUTHERAN. THE EPISCOPALIAN was a member of ABC until this year. Other circulation figures are either sworn statements or publishers' estimates.

A.D. is a monthly magazine established in 1972 from a merger of the UNITED CHURCH HERALD (United Church of Christ) and PRESBYTERIAN LIFE. The merger at least temporarily rescued each magazine from a plummeting circulation at the start of the seventies. Between Sept. 30, 1969, and Sept. 30, 1972, PRESBYTERIAN LIFE's circulation dropped over 250,000 (about 32%) and the HERALD's dropped 20,000 (22%). Since June 30, 1973, however, A.D. itself has also dropped in circulation nearly 60,000 (about 10%).

A.D. contains material primarily for the adult Christian. (YOUTH magazine is published by the United Church Press for high school young people of the United Church of Christ and the Presbyterian Church, as well as for those in the Episcopal and American Lutheran Churches.) It is "for Christians, those considering becoming Christians, and for those curious about the Christian faith."[4] The magazine is published in New York and issued in two separate editions for each denomination. Ad and news items vary between editions, but about 50% of the editorial content is common to both. A.D.'s circulation is the largest of the seven magazines being studied here: 554,915; 482,064 of these (87%) are Presbyterian editions and 72,851 are United Church of Christ. An additional 27,740 are distributed free. Subscribers are most highly concentrated in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central States.

THE LUTHERAN is a bi-weekly magazine established in 1963 after a four-part merger formed the Lutheran Church in America (LCA). "We shall need this means of bringing us together as members of a new church," the editors said in their first issue. Representing unions of many Lutheran periodicals dating as far back as 1831, THE LUTHERAN can now count as part of its ancestry about 40 different publications.

THE LUTHERAN is constitutionally required to be a magazine of general interest to all persons affiliated with the LCA. But its aim editorially is primarily to the adult lay person. Billed on its 1973 advertising rate card as "America's fastest growing religious magazine," THE LUTHERAN has the second-highest circulation of the seven magazines being studied here. The magazine's circulation did, in fact, increase 144,000 (33%) between 1963 and 1969. Since that time, however, it has been mildly affected by the religious magazine malaise -- decreasing 61,000 or 10% since 1969.

Most of THE LUTHERAN's 522,949 paid subscribers are, as A.D.'s, concentrated in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central states; 16,669 magazines are distributed free. THE LUTHERAN is published in Philadelphia.

The CATHOLIC DIGEST was established in 1936 and is published now by the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minn. It is a monthly journal modeled after READER's DIGEST and designed for Catholic families. According to editor Bob Fenton, the magazine is not specifically directed to a young audience, since "its strength lies in an average age of 40-55 years." Small reader research studies are done several times a year by the staff, and a larger examination is done annually by an outside firm. A recent survey shows CATHOLIC DIGEST readers are similar to readers of

READER's DIGEST; 66% are women, the average household income is $12,915, nearly 68% have graduated from high school at least, and 81.8% own their own homes.

CATHOLIC DIGEST was, like the previous magazines, subject to the 1970 circulation slump. Its own dipped 47,000 (8½%) between Dec. 31, 1969, and June 30, 1972. Since that time, however, the magazine has regained 23,000 readers (4%). Its current 521,879 paying readers are, as the previous magazines' audiences, concentrated most heavily in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central states. According to Fenton, circulation is heavy in urban and suburban areas and light in farm and southern regions.

MOODY MONTHLY is a magazine published by the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago since 1900 for conservative evangelical Protestants. It is edited for all members of Christian families of all denominations, and for church leaders, Non-denominational in sponsorship and allegiance, MOODY MONTHLY attracts 39.1% of its readers from the Baptist church and another 18.8% who call themselves religiously "independent." The subscribers median family income is $11,600, and about half are above 45 years of age. Equal numbers of men and women read the magazine. Seventy per cent of the subscribers own their homes, 31.8% of the household heads are professional, technical or kindred workers, and 31.2% list high school or less as their maximum educational levels.[5] Because of the Moody Bible Institute's radio broadcasts around Chicago, many MOODY MONTHLY readers are in the East North Central states; the South Atlantic states have the next largest concentration of readers.

MOODY MONTHLY's circulation -- listed as 245,000 in the October 1974 issue -- has nearly doubled since 1972 as a result of an extensive circulation campaign. To accomplish this campaign, the magazine purchased lists from other evangelical organizations, tested several, and eventually sent a promotional mailing of 2½ million.

UNITED METHODISTS TODAY was established in January 1974, and is published in Park Ridge, Ill. It is a combination of the United Methodists' previous family magazine -- TOGETHER -- and their publication for Methodist ministers -- CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE. TODAY was conceived partly to change the Methodist magazine's image, and partly to escape a dwindling circulation. Generally, TOGETHER's circulation hovered around 500,000. But its "175th anniversary issue of Methodism" issue in November 1959, sold a record 1,218,000. In 1973, TOGETHER's circulation was down to 200,000.

According to an introductory piece in Vol. I, No. 1, "TODAY is a people magazine, edited for all kinds of people -- people who care about other people, people who are in mission through their jobs, in local churches, and in professional careers, people who care about the church of Jesus Christ..." Its 222,210 subscribers are concentrated in the East North Central and West Central states. Forty thousand of these are Methodist ministers who receive it free with a special "TODAY'S MINISTRY" supplement at the back.

Managing editor Helen Johnson suggests the typical UNITED METHODISTS TODAY reader is a middle-aged or older white woman from a household with better than a $10,000 annual income. A readership survey is being tabulated by the staff now.

THE EPISCOPALIAN is a monthly tabloid newspaper serving as the official journal of contemporary Christianity for the lay famalies of the Episcopal Church in America. THE EPISCOPALIAN began in 1960 as a continuation of FORTH magazine, and is published in Philadelphia. In June 1974, the magazine changed to its present tabloid format. THE EPISCOPALIAN's circulation is 112,204, 23% lower than what it was in the mid-sixties, but still a rally from its lowpoint in 1971. The publication has recently begun to encourage regional supplements in its issues as a circulation stimulant, and hopes to be serving 13 dioceses in this way by January 1975. By this date the staff also expects circulation to be above 150,000. Of its current circulation, 2,275 are not paid. A professional supplement is inserted into each clergy's edition.

COMMENTARY aims to "meet the needs for a journal of significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs and contemporary issues."[6] The magazine has been published monthly since 1945 as a public service by the American Jewish Committee in New York. It is "for people with a belief in the power of the critical intelligence to locate and comprehend the issues playing beneath the surface of contemporary life."[7] Its advertising rate card says the magazine is read by the leaders of the Jewish market and by the world's leaders in government, business, industry and the professions. "Overall," a demographic survey of subscribers reports, "COMMENTARY's subscribers can be described as very affluent, leaders in business, well-travelled, patrons of the arts and civic and socially minded." More than 82% of COMMENTARY's readers are male, their median income is $55,000, 68.5% have had post-graduate education, and over 68% are above the age of 45.[8] COMMENTARY's current circulation of 61,367 is a 50% increase over what it was in 1966, and only a 3% drop from what it was in 1969. A third of the magazine's subscribers are from the Middle Atlantic states. Though the religious persuasion of subscribers was not mentioned in the demographic survey, it is assumed a high proportion are Jewish.

II. EDITORIAL CONCEPT AND CONTENT

A.D. "interprets the Bible and offers devotion and inspirational articles. It addresses itself to the hurt and hunger of the world, the malfunctions of society, and the nature of the mission of the Church of the World. Evangelical in content, it reiterates the offer of Christ's love for all people everywhere."[9] A.D.'s editorial thrust is both to the individual Christian and to the active church member in search of program assistance. "Our goal," writes editor J. Martin Bailey, "is to produce a magazine that is fairly contemporary, which deals with the issues facing the church and the society, but which does so from a deeply religious point of view. To the extent that we draw upon the traditional elements of the Christian faith -- and we do -- this can be seen to be essentially a conservative function with a progressive outlook." The magazine's circulation promotions suggest A.D. be used for Bible study groups, group discussion topics, new-member classes, officers and leaders, ministers, stewardship programs, and sermon source material. The product, it is suggested, is evangelism in print -- a means of reaching people who may or may not be affiliated with a church.

A.D. has leaned heavily toward the UNITED CHURCH HERALD format since its beginning in 1972. Like the HERALD, it uses a large number of columns to convey news of churches and denominational activity, and it often uses a profile to introduce a contemporary issue. A.D. has increased both previous publications' coverage of social affairs, theology and faith. Articles are significantly longer than those printed before the merger, no doubt because A.D. has nearly twice the number of pages either previous magazine had alone. A.D.'s writing quality is generally high.

THE LUTHERAN is proportionately more concerned with denominational and general church news than features. Social issues are treated broadly, and articles are limited in depth by the small number of pages in this bi-weekly (36). The tone of many articles is "folksy" -- readable but not highly authoritative. The magazine's editorial policy, first adopted by the United Lutheran Church in 1954 and later modified and reaffirmed by the Committee on Church Papers of the LCA (1963) and the Consulting Committee on THE LUTHERAN (1972) reads:

> "In accordance with the constitutional requirement that it be a magazine of general interest to all persons affiliated with the Lutheran Church in America, it shall be the policy of THE LUTHERAN to address itself to the total constituency by:
>
> 1) providing information of significance to the church and its people;
> 2) relating the Christian faith to the life of the people;
> 3) familiarizing the people of the church with church personalities and institutions;
> 4) promoting the work of the Lutheran Church in America, its affiliates and agencies; and
> 5) addressing the church with responsible expressions about relevant problems, needs and purposes of the common life."

CATHOLIC DIGEST is "pointed towards the middle-of-the-road family audience," according to editor Bob Fenton, and features short positive articles about "the business of living" It reprints condensed versions of articles from magazines of all sorts, books, and newspapers. Though only 20% of its editorial content is "religious" and the other 80% is of broad general interest, its overall purpose is "to help Catholics appreciate and understand their religion, and function better in a complex world."

Subjects covered in the DIGEST include personalities, health, sports, education, hobbies and travel. Articles are very brief and easily read. A good number are written in first-person anecdotal style. Reader participation with the magazine is encouraged through several columns which pay for items submitted and used.

MOODY MONTHLY is "broad in its editorial scope -- combining articles on contemporary Christian issues with Bible teaching, theology, and inspiration. Other themes covered are missions, family counsel, spiritual growth, evangelism, methods of Christian work, and church music."[10] MOODY MONTHLY's editorial concentration has shifted from personal faith and theology in the fifties to religion's relationship to contemporary issues in the seventies. Recent articles have dealt with Appalachian poverty, ministry to homosexuals, a woman's view of the ecumenical movement, and church tax deductions. There is less coverage of missions, less concern with evangelism and personal testimony, and more attention paid to problems of daily Christian living. Much space is devoted each month to religious book columns and reviews.

The family-oriented *UNITED METHODISTS TODAY* "is designed to explore the problems of the individual and of society and to relate these problems to the Christian faith."[11] The magazine's writing is generally personable and crisp; humor is used when available and appropriate. *TODAY* tries to find a happy medium between fundamental, intellectual and social issues. In an attempt to serve the greatly diversified Methodist audience (as Helen Johnson puts it: "the eggheads in Boston and the old-time religionists in Oklahoma"), *TODAY* treats issues from the "people" angle, and presents features from the perspective of the local church.

THE EPISCOPALIAN is edited now mainly to convey news of the Episcopal Church to its members, from a non-partisan point of view. Since its switch to newspaper format, its ability to treat issues in great depth has been somewhat curtailed; long features are rare. Occasional photo essays continue what had been a liberal use of photography for a church magazine, but they are less effective now when reproduced on newsprint. Items are almost exclusively concerned with the goings on of the Episcopal church here and abroad.

COMMENTARY's editorial thrust is toward "clarifying...issues (beneath the surface of contemporary life) rather than at merely providing information; at encouraging original thought rather than reiterating known positions; at analyzing problems and discontents rather than engaging in pious celebrations; at keeping alive a 'utopian' sense of human possibility rather than settling for the world as given."[12] Its focus was initially on the Jew's situation as a minority, but recently it has treated minorities in general. *COMMENTARY* is listed in the Standard Rate and Data Service under "general interest" publications rather than under "religious" ones. Articles are literary and philosophic, often written by well-known scholars or persons of national prominence, and dealing with basic social and political issues of interest to America.

III. GRAPHIC PRESENTATION

A.D. is perhaps the most graphically sophisticated publication in the religious field today. At the time of the *PRESBYTERIAN LIFE/UNITED CHURCH HERALD* merger, the *HERALD* art director was retained. The new magazine, therefore, took on the *HERALD*'s bold and contemporary look rather than *PRESBYTERIAN LIFE*'s drab "church magazine" image. *A.D.* is a standard 8½ x 11 inch size, has a two or four-color cover, and is professional in appearance. Its logo is always bold and prominent; its four-column table of contents -- highlighted by bold page numbers and occasional small graphics -- is quite striking. Heavy bars top all column pages and the first pages of features. Body type is an attractive sans serif; column titles and most headlines are set in a type with ultra-heavy verticals. Variety in page stock, type size, and column justification, as well as effective graphic and photographic effects, result in an excellent presentation of editorial material. There is no use of four-color within the magazine, but two-color is used very creatively.

Editor J. Martin Bailey says the magazine's graphic display provokes many comments "all the way from a disappointment with the 'old fashioned' pictures and graphic style to a rejection of the same because they appear to be 'avant garde.'" To Bailey, this illustrates "the fact that, like religion, people's tastes in art differ radically and that individuals feel very strongly about both."

THE LUTHERAN changed in 1973 from a 6½ x 9 3/8 inch size to a 36-page standard 8½ x 11. At that time, its column logos were brightened, greater use of two-color was introduced, and covers were increased from two to four-color. Three dimensional initials now occasionally start articles, and bars are used for graphic accent. THE LUTHERAN has steadily modernized its appearance since its start in 1963, reflecting the current church magazine image rather than blazing a trail for a new one. An art director has always been on the staff.

The graphic approach of CATHOLIC DIGEST, just as its size and content, is modelled after that of READER's DIGEST. CATHOLIC DIGEST's decorative lines above fillers and technique for introducing articles are the most noticeable comparable characteristics. The magazine's paper stock has gradually improved over the years from newsprint to lightweight text. One or two features a month are now accompanied by poorly-reproduced four-color photos. Four-color covers have been standard since 1960 at least.

MOODY MONTHLY has had graphic changes every few years in the past few decades, which seem to parallel indecision in the magazine's editorial approach. The title logo has been redesigned four times since 1952, and the staff is considering another magazine redesigning now. When MOODY MONTHLY underwent a major graphic revamping in 1969, an art director was added to the staff. Some four-color was then added to the inside, and a four-color cover was adopted. The table of contents is quite contemporary, with a column of small photos running the length of the 8½ x 11 page; article, department and teen focus listings are at the right. MOODY MONTHLY's overall look now is straightforward and attractive, but not bold. The magazine seems to be in limbo between contemporary and traditional design -- headline styles appear outdated next to the MOODY MONTHLY logotype, and four-color 'Biblical" paintings are used too frequently where color photographs might have been effective.

Though UNITED METHODISTS TODAY is an 8½ x 5½ magazine, it has a great commitment to graphic excellence. "It was conceived when church publications were stodgy," according to managing editor Helen Johnson, "so TODAY really pioneered skills we take for granted in other communicative arts." The first issue of the magazine used high quality four-color photos throughout, reproduced on quality papter. The staff promised subscribers in that first issue the new magazine would "sparkle with color" and "fine photographs." A clear and highly readable sans serif body type set two-columns, and a simple headline style provide appropriate balance to the text and graphics.

Though COMMENTARY's design has changed over the past decare, graphics are still not a priority for the magazine. The COMMENTARY logotype was modernized most recently in 1969, and the four-color covers are now done by an outside company. Advertisements occasionally carry four-colors within the magazine, but COMMENTARY has preserved overall the image of a scholarly journal.

FORTH, and the EPISCOPALIAN as a magazine, were both marked by straightforward layouts, high numbers of photographs, and occasional use of color. The EPISCOPALIAN in tabloid form, however, is quite different. The tabloid is folded to form an 8½ x 11 inch pseudo-magazine with a cover, and opens into the larger newspaper format. Typographical decisions for the new EPISCOPALIAN were made to counteract the disadvantages of newsprint. Most headlines, for example, are set in a bold sans serif type. Column heads are set in a variety of other attractive styles. The body type is large, usually set in four-column widths and occasionally ragged right. The EPISCOPALIAN logotype, redesigned several times in the past few years, is now printed in a bright color on the tabloid's 'cover' and front page. The publication's layout is as yet unpolished, probably because of the staff's unfamiliarity with the newspaper medium. As one member of the EPISCOPALIAN's Board of Directors assessed: "It still looks like a high school paper."

IV. FINANCES

A.D. costs 60¢ per single copy or $5.00 per year. It is subsidized by both of its sponsoring denominations. Of its 554,915 subscribers, 516,369 subscribe by the congregationwide plan: $2.50 per year if 75% of one congregation signs up, $4.00 if a smaller portion does. There are no individual copy sales.

The bi-weekly LUTHERAN has a low cost of 15¢ an issue, or $3.00 a year. According to its editor, Al Stauderman, prices may go up next year. "We have held the line since 1963," he says, "but cost increases have created difficulties." More than 510,000 of its 522,949 subscribers are on the congregation-wide plan: $1.50 per family when every family in a congreation is served; $3.00 when ordered by a church for selected families. There are no single copy sales.

CATHOLIC DIGEST costs 60¢ an issue or $4.97 a year. The majority of the magazine's income comes from circulation, and that depends on its traditionally high subscription renewal rate. Of its 521,879 average circulation, 453,019 are indicidual subscriptions, and 68,860 are single copies sold from displays in the vestibules of churches, or distributed to Catholic chaplains, recreational servies of the U.S. Armed Services, and hospitals at 30¢ an issue. Twenty-eight per cent of the subscriptions sold last year were ordered through various premium offers. Most sold in the last six months were at rates lower than basic price as a result of a direct mail campaign. Part of the DIGEST's revenue goes to the College of St. Thomas, and part goes to "broaden and strengthen its editorial product," according to the editor.

MOODY MONTHLY's financial situation is good, for a religious magazine: it is making a slight profit. Publication manager Bob Flood estimates a third of the magazine's revenue is from ads and the remainder is from circulation. Individual magazine copies are 60¢, subscriptions are $6.00 a year. The magazine currently offers "The New Testament and Wycliffe Bible Commentary" free as an incentive to new subscrigers.

UNITED METHODISTS TODAY costs 75¢ a copy or $6.00 a year. Under its Every Member Plan and Administrative Board Plan, each subscription costs

$4.80. The magazine, as its predecessors TOGETHER and CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, is a money-losing operation. Its loss has always been absorbed by the United Methodist Publishing House.

The EPISCOPALIAN costs 35¢ an issue or $4.00 a year. Parish Plan subscriptions, diocesan plan subscriptions, and clergy plan subscriptions are also offered. Income from circulation is about 61% of the EPISCOPALIAN's operating costs; advertising brings in about 14% and a denominational subsidy accounts for the remaining 25%.

COMMENTARY's price has risen steadily since 1950. Then, an issue cost 50¢; today it costs $1.50. A year subscription now costs $9.00. The magazine's also increasing ad perdentage suggests its finances are doing fairly well compared to other religious publications.

V. ADVERTISING

The percentage of advertising in religious magazines has never been on a par with the 45-70 ad percentages common in general consumer magazines. Advertising content in religious magazines dropped overall around 1970, but has begun to pick up again. Still, advertising plays nowhere near the role in religious publishing that it does in magazine publishing in general, and most religious editors agree increased ad contents would improve their magazines' financial plights.

A.D. is the only religious magazine which pays to be a member of the Publisher's Information Bureau (PIB). According to this, its total number of ad pages in 1973 increased 6% over the previous (A.D.'s first) year, but its ad revenue dropped 17%. Currently, A.D. carries between 10% and 25% advertising. PIB shows about a quarter of the magazine's total ad pages in 1973 were devoted to book ads. Others were (and are) for religious merchandise, projects and schools; travel and financial services; and denomination affiliated activities. A few classified ads appear each month. Rates vary with the denominational issue and ads for alcoholic beverages and tobacco are not accepted. One b/w page ad in both editions runs $2,000; in the Presbyterian edition alone (circulation 482,064) it costs $1,900; and in the United Church of Christ edition alone (circulation 72,851) it costs $483.00.

THE LUTHERAN's ad percentage has generally increased since 1963, and is now about 24%. Like A.D.'s, much of the LUTHERAN's advertising is for religious publications, merchandise or projects, or for LCA services. A b/w full-page ad inserted once costs $1,800 and is based on a guaranteed paid circulation of 500,000. Rates will go up 20% Jan. 1, 1975. Ads for alcoholic beverages, tobacco and patent medicine are not accepted.

CATHOLIC DIGEST's ad percentage has been increasing and today amounts to about 14% of the magazine's content. "Large advertisers are hesitant to advertise in the religious market," according to editor Bob Fenton, "because they can usually reach the same audience with larger circulation publications." CATHOLIC DIGEST, he observes, is heavy in mail order advertising (with coupons) and classified advertising. Almost every issue carries an ad for the Catholic Digest Book Club, a division of the magazine. Recently, there have also been quite a few ads for Catholic schools and religious orders. Alcoholic beverages and tobacco ads are accepted. A full-page b/w ad inserted once costs $1766.

MOODY MONTHLY has a relatively high ad percentage of about 40%. Many of its ads are less than 1/6 of a page in size and are for religious products, books, schools or retirement plans. The staff is currently revising its ad policy and will probably adopt a detailed standard which refuses ads for patent medicines, health aids, tobacco, liquor, 'make money' schemes, and many other items. Ads which dramatize violence, deprecate other Christian institutions, use any form of chance or lottery, etc. probably will be excluded as well. All ads for institutions are screened for Moody Bible Institute sanction. A full-page b/w ad inserted once costs $1,987. Rates are based on 250,000 circulation monthly and are lower for schools and missions.

Though UNITED METHODISTS TODAY's ad ratio has increased from about 8% to 16% in its first year, it has still not yet reached the proportion desired by the staff. Ads are mainly for religious books, merchandise, projects and schools; a few travel and in-house are included too. One insertion of a b/w full-page ad costs $1,105. Tobacco and alcoholic beverage ads, fund raising ads, and objectionable proprietary medicine or personal advertisements are not accepted.

As a magazine, the EPISCOPALIAN consistently carried between 20% and 30% advertising. Now, about 3½ of its 20 tabloid pages (17%) are advertisements. Many ads are for schools, books and religious merchandise. A 'full-½-page ad' costs $816.25, based on 120,000 circulation.

COMMENTARY carries about 34% advertising, a marked increase from its percentage in the fifties and early sixties. The magazine is heavy on literary ads, but also carries ads geared to Jewish consumers, several for liquor, and a few for schools and travel. COMMENTARY, more than any other "religious" publication studied here, has broken out of the traditional religious advertising dilemma. Its list of advertisers includes most book clubs, major expensive car manufacturers, banks, fashion retailers, major liquor firms, record and music organizations, tobacco dealers, travel firms, and kosher food producers. A one-page b/w ad inserted once costs $800; rates will be going up in January 1975.

VI. INTERRELATIONS

Because the religious publication field is glutted with hundreds of magazines, newspapers and circulars, it is inevitable that audience boundaries overlap and publication staffs interrelate. The spirit is not so much one of fierce competition, but rather one of trying to understand how the other magazine's audience differs from your own. UNITED METHODISTS TODAY, for example, finds its major 'competition' within its own denominational publishing. The Methodists alone produce the weekly NEWSCOPE for church leaders, the devotional UPPER ROOM, RESPONSE for women, and the Committee on Communication's INTERPRETER. The TEXAS METHODIST, an independent newspaper published in regional editions, is also becoming a rival for subscribers. One household will tolerate only so many religious magazines.

MOODY MONTHLY's major competitors are other conservative publications: 60% of its subscribers also receive DECISION, a bulletin published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Many also get the CHRISTIAN HERALD, though Bob Flood sees the HERALD's audience as older than MOODY MONTHLY's. CHRISTIAN LIFE competes somewhat but tends to be more charismatic. CHRISTIANITY TODAY and CAMPUS LIFE are competitors for advertising. ETERNITY competes, but leans more toward contemporary issues than MOODY MONTHLY.

COMMENTARY measures its competitors within the general interest field. In its demographic survey, COMMENTARY asserts 55.1% of its readers don't read TIME, 65.3% don't read NEWSWEEK, 65.3% don't read NEW YORK, HARPERS, ATLANTIC, PLAYBOY and U.S. NEWS.

THE LUTHERAN is "loosely related" to many other Lutheran publications through the Lutheran Editors' Association, established in 1914. The group meets annually and makes some effort to share articles and ideas with other publications. But "this has been achieved on a very limited basis," according to LUTHERAN editor Al Stauderman.

The situation within the Lutheran Editors' Association is representative of one obstacle A.D. editor J. Martin Bailey sees in religious journalism cooperation. "Editors are by nature individualists," he notes. "This results in both creativity and in a certain unwillingness to accept another man's work even when the audiences are somewhat similar."[13] Differences in formats, he says, prohibit intermagazine cooperation, too. Still, Bailey feels the "whole idea of A.D. -- representing as it does a merger between two former publications, is that there are many things which we can be doing better together than separately and that there are economic advantages for this...We look forward to the time when one or more additional denominations may be a part of this enterprise."

One attempt at cooperation among religious publications has failed for reasons other than editorial ones, however. "The Interfaith Group" was established several years ago by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish magazines to solicit advertising from commercial firms which wanted to avoid any suggestion of religious favoritism. Advertisers' reactions to the proposed combined advertising, though, still tends to be, "if I advertise in your religious magazines, I'll have to advertise in them all."

A more successful cooperative venture has been "Interchurch Features" (ICF). This is an informal syndicate of nine Protestant publications (including THE EPISCOPALIAN, THE LUTHERAN, A.D. and TODAY) formed to jointly solicit and publish higher quality manuscripts and photographs. Side benefits such as personal friendships among the member editors and their staffs, and collaboration on financial problems, have developed from the ICF.

A longstanding Protestant cooperative group has been making ecumenical headway in the past few years. The Associated Church Press (ACP), established in 1916 and now based in Media, Penn., is an association of 160 Protestant and Orthodox publications having a combined readership of 20 million. Since 1969, the ACP's annual conference has been held with the Catholic Press Association (CPA), an organization established in 1911, located in New York, and supported by 335 member publications. The ACP also maintains a cooperative relationship with the Evangelical Press Association (EPA), a California-based alliance of 180 editors and publishers of Christian periodicals.

An American Jewish Press Association (AJPA) also exists in St. Louis, Mo. It was founded in 1943 "to raise and maintain the standards of professional Jewish journalism and to create instruments of information for American Jewry."[14] The AJPA provides a news service for its members and holds a semi-annual meeting.

Similarly, the ACP sponsors editorial workshops, research in Christian journalism, and national awards for excellence. Its members receive syndicated articles and interviews, share material with other member publications, and receive various other services and consultations. The CPA issues the bimonthly Catholic Journalist and periodic bulletins to members. The EPA provides the Evangelical Press News Service weekly and LIAISON monthly to members, and also sponsors an annual convention.

The World Council of Churches also issues a weekly Ecumenical Press Association newsletter and a monthly news and photo summary for member religious organizations. "The aim of the EPS is to keep its readers informed of trends of thought and opinion in and about the churches and Christian movements," the newsletter explains.

In a 1970 editorial, CHRISTIAN CENTURY endorsed a merger of the CPA and the ACP under the name "Christian Press Association." "Not only the field of religious publication itself but the whole movement of wider ecumenism could be dramatically affected by such a development," they wrote. "That is, if people haven't quit reading entirely by that time and if religious concern has not expired altogether."[15]

Such a move has not come about, though. Religious magazines and their editors seem vitally preoccupied with self-survival at the moment, and lack the surplus energy necessary to tend to the field as a whole. The consequent trend, therefore, is for individual religious publications to be tossed and bounced by the general public's religious whims.

As the one publication in this report that is responding directly to such religious whims, MOODY MONTHLY is understandably a success story. Publication manager Bob Flood observes his magazine's circulation -- and those of other evangelical publications -- has picked up with the momentum of the evangelical movement. "We have a message people are looking for," he says. "Some of the other magazines have drifted. People today hunger for the basic spiritual message."

In the religious field, those magazines attempting to lead theological trends rather than follow them are usually left wanting for readers and money. CHRISTIAN CENTURY's assessment of the fate of many religious journals in 1971 still holds true today. "Unfortunately," they wrote, "the life or death of a religious journal these days may bear little if any relationship to editorial excellence -- else we could smugly say that the good guys survive and the bad ones don't. In numerous cases, the most professional ventures and the most prophetic voices have been rewarded with tumbling circulation if not extinction. Some mediocre and reactionary publications keep going only because of the fat cats who keep them funded."[16]

Somewhere, there is a balance to be reached. Somehow, ideals can be maintained while more attention is given to "the way things are." Today's shaky religious publications might well take a lesson in marketing from magazines such as MOODY MONTHLY and COMMENTARY. Unlike many religious magazines, these two have invested in a professional outside subscriber survey to present to potential advertisers. And these two have had ad percentages close to those necessary for independent financing.

Religious magazines are involved in a basically secular medium. No matter how good their contents, they have to rely on subscribers and advertisers for support. With the current waning of church funding, it may be an appropriate occasion for religious magazines to make concessions to secular financing and marketing techniques.

NOTES

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] A.D., Editorial Profile, Standard Rate and Data Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Publications.

[5] "Media Facts," Moody Monthly, 1974.

[6] "Statement of Aims" in Commentary.

[7] Commentary, Editorial Profile, Standard Rate and Date Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Publications.

[8] "Demographics," Commentary, 1974.

[9] A.D., SRDS.

[10] Moody Monthly, Editorial Profile, Standard Rate and Data Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Publications.

[11] United Methodists Today, Editorial Profile, Standard Rate and Data Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Publications.

[12] Commentary, SRDS.

[13] J. Martin Bailey, "Ecumenism and Communication -- Cooperation Among Denominational Journals," Christian Century, Feb. 25, 1970, p. 241.

[14] Encyclopedia of Associations, Gale Research Co., Detroit, 1973.

[15] "Toward a Christian Press Association," Christian Century, June 10, 1970, p. 716.

[16] "The Lugubrious Economics ...", p. 212.

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Chronicles of the Sports Explosion: Sports Illustrated, Tennis, Womensports, World Tennis

Alexander McNab

The interest in sports in America has increased considerably in the 1970's. Television brings football into our living rooms at least three days a week each autumn. New professional leagues are cropping up all over, providing team competition in sports ranging from boxing to volleyball. And the paths of parks are jammed each weekend with joggers and cyclists.

The sport experiencing the most astonishing growth during the 1970's is tennis. Professional tournaments are offering more prize money than ever before. The women players have their own successful pro tour. And even tennis has a new professional league, World Team Tennis.

But the tennis boom goes way beyond the professional game. In 1970, the A. C. Nielsen Co. reported that 10.3 million Americans played tennis periodically. By 1973, the figure was 20.2 million. Nielsen's most recent study, conducted in the summer of 1974, shows that 33.9 million Americans play tennis.[1]

Sales of tennis balls and racquets have increased dramatically, too. In 1970, their sales totaled $27.8 million. They surpassed the $100 million mark in 1973.[2] The U.S. Tennis Court and Track Builders Association reports that approximately 5,000 new tennis courts are being built each year, to add to the 220,000 already in existence.[3]

Because of this explosion tennis has experienced both as a spectator and a participant sport, I have chosen to examine tennis magazines as examples of sports magazines. Those to be considered are TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS.

A study of spots magazines, however, would be incomplete without looking at the leader in the field, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED. Also, the most recent addition to the sports magazine field, WOMENSPORTS, merits consideration.

TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS

TENNIS magazine is the official publication of the United States Professional Tennis Association (USPTA). However, its subscriptions are not limited to association members. The first issue of TENNIS was published in May 1965. It was founded by Asher Birnbaum, who put the magazine together in the basement of his Highland Park, Ill. home. "On Sept. 13 (1972), a general agreement was announced by Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, president and principal stockholder of TENNIS, for the purchase of all of the stock of TENNIS magazine by GOLF DIGEST, a wholly-owned subsidiary of The New York Times Company."[4] The November 1972 issue was the first published under the new management. Editorial offices were moved from Highland Park to Norwalk, Conn. TENNIS now has the largest circulation of any tennis publication.

WORLD TENNIS began in June 1953. It grew out of a one-page mimeographed sheet printed by Gladys M. Heldman in Houston, Tex. The one-page publication grew to four printed pages called the HOUSTON TENNIS NEWS, then to 8, 12 and 16 pages, renamed THE ROUND UP. The June 1953 issue was published in Houston, but in July, the magazine moved to New York City. Mrs. Heldman was the entire staff.

The magazine made its first profits in the summer of 1962. WORLD TENNIS moved its editorial operations back to Houston in 1970. Mrs. Heldman remained the editor, publisher and overseer of virtually all operations of the magazine. She sold WORLD TENNIS to CBS Publications for $2,000,000 in 1973, and soon after, turned over the editorship to Ron Bookman, who had been associate publisher. In the November 1974 issue, Bookman wrote, "For the first time since Gladys M. Heldman founded the magazine. . . WT has a new publisher. He is John R. (Jack) O'Connor, for the past five years the director of national sales for CBS Television, and prior to that, advertising director of McCALL's magazine. Gladys will continue her association with WT in several capacities."[5] The editorial operations were moved back to New York the same month.

The editorial content of the two magazines is in many ways similar in general terms. Both have feature articles on the major tournaments, such as Wimbledon, as well as about players and other tennis personalities. Also, they both carry instructional articles. Yet, despite the similarities, each magazine has its own specific personality and angle of emphasis.

TENNIS is the more instructional-oriented magazine of the two. "TENNIS is edited for the player who participates in the game as distinguished from the fan who follows professional players."[6]

Since 1965, TENNIS has undergone gradual editorial changes. Columns have been added or dropped, emphasis on certain aspects of the sport has developed, and depth of coverage has increased. The most important of these changes was the inclusion of a monthly "Instruction Portfolio," starting in August 1972. Larry Battistello, TENNIS' Midwest advertising representative, says this feature really is most responsible for making the magazine an editorial success.

The "Instruction Portfolio" is a series of articles in each issue that deals with one stroke or phase of the game. The section starts with an article by a well-known professional on general aspects of the portfolio's subject. The pro is chosen because he is especially strong in the part of the game that is the subject of the portfolio. This introductory piece is followed by an article on the strategy of the subject considered, which is illustrated with diagrams. Next comes an article by Australian touring pro John Alexander on which of his fellow pros excels in that particular phase of the game, and what the average player can learn by watching him. The portfolio is usually completed by articles on the psychology and conditioning required to master the subject of the portfolio. Each piece of this thorough instructional section is reviewed and approved by TENNIS magazine's five-man instruction Advisory Board, which is composed of five top teaching professionals who were formerly international champions.

In addition to the "Instruction Portfolio," TENNIS has other monthly pieces on instruction. For example, each issue usually contains at least two "Tennis Tips," one-page illustrations with captions demonstrating a fundamental of tennis. The tips are submitted by USPTA teaching pros.

TENNIS has a large number of regular editorial departments, which are best listed in tabular form.

DEPARTMENT TITLE	DESCRIPTION
"Notes From the Publisher:	Editorial comments or news about TENNIS
"Your Serve"	Letters
"Passing Shots"	Short news items about pros and games
"Other Racquet Sports"	News and instruction on table tennis, platform tennis, badminton, etc.
"Senior Circuit"	A column on senior tennis
"USPTA Round Up"	A column of USPTA news
"Faces and Places"	Black and white photo pictorial
"New Products"	Black and white photos of new tennis products
"College Round Up"	A news column on collegiate tennis
"Scores and Schedules"	Tournament results with schedules
"Cross-Court Puzzler"	A word puzzle with a tennis angle
"Mystery Photo Contest"	One black and white photo to be identified by readers; winner gets prize
"Linesmen Ready?"	One page of cartoons
"Picture of the Month"	Humorous black and white photo on the last page of the magazine

In its feature section, TENNIS has articles on the professional players and tournaments, travel, fashion, equipment and indoor courts. Articles on major tournaments are usually less detailed than those in WORLD TENNIS. For example, TENNIS had seven pages on the 1974 U.S. Open Tournament, compared to 25 pages on the subject in WORLD TENNIS.

Often feature articles in TENNIS deal with controversial issues in the tennis world. The December 1974 issue, for example, has articles on why there are so few blacks in pro tennis, and how players are ranked at the end of the season. TENNIS also has carried features on major celebrities who play tennis. Indeed, in 1972, Caroline Kennedy, Hugh Hefner and Elke Sommer were featured on covers of TENNIS. Because of criticism received about such content, as well as a better developed editorial concept, the magazine has decreased its coverage of the stars.

TENNIS also has numerous special features. A three-part series of instruction by Billie Jean King appeared in the October, November and December 1974 issues. Also, in November 1974, TENNIS published the results of a special contest they conducted to determine who had the fastest serve in the world. And eight issues each year include a series of articles on a certain subject. In January each year, for example, TENNIS has a complete guide to tennis camps in the United States. In November, the magazine has a guide to winter tennis resorts, and in December, TENNIS presents its choices for male and female rookies of the year on the professional circuit.

In sum, the editorial content of TENNIS is quite diverse. The emphasis on instruction and other aspects of tennis that appeal to the reader as a participant, qualify TENNIS as a service magazine for the active tennis player.

WORLD TENNIS is much more oriented towards the tennis spectator.

its coverage of professional tournaments and players far surpasses that of TENNIS. In the "Major Tournament Results" department at the back of the book are listed scores from virtually every important tournament in the world. Yet, WORLD TENNIS also has, regularly, instruction, fashion and travel articles. It does not, however, cover other racquet sports.

In its 21-year history, WORLD TENNIS has undergone innumerable changes in editorial content. In the 1960's, the tournament circuit overall was covered much more thoroughly than today. For example, in 1963, four-page articles appeared about the Australian circuit and the U.S. Junior Championships. In 1974, the Australian circuit was covered with a two-page pictorial, and the National Juniors by two black-and-white photos. The change in coverage reflects a change in emphasis on certain tournaments in the tennis world. The Australian circuit has lost most of the prestige it held in the 1960's.

Many regular editorial features have been dropped in recent years. In 1967, WORLD TENNIS began a monthly article entitled "Distinguished Women of Tennis," a profile on one of the top woman players. It was dropped after the May 1970 issue. A monthly column on tennis history, "25 Years Ago," which dated back on a monthly basis to at least 1963, was ended in 1974.

Other departments in WORLD TENNIS have continued. "Decisions," a question-answer column on tennis rules, is still a regular instruction piece, as it was in 1963. The same is true of "Around the World," a back-of-the-book collection of photos and news shorts about all aspects of the sport.

The editorial content of WORLD TENNIS is divided into three basic parts: instruction, articles and departments. The instruction pieces include the previously mentioned "Decisions" column, a similar, but more general, question-answer column called "Question Box," an article, in dialogue format between teaching pro and novice, about a certain aspect of the game, a one-page picture-with-caption piece on a tennis fundamental by Dennis Van der Meer, one of the game's best teaching pros, and a long instruction article by Mrs. Heldman.

Regular departments include "Major Tournament Results" and "Around the World," as well as letters, an editorial page ("Comment"), book reviews and a fashion pictorial. WORLD TENNIS has been criticized for being too oriented towards the confused "politics" of the sport. The opinions expressed in the "Comment" column have often been very critical of the amateur organizations which govern international tennis. WORLD TENNIS has been a big influence behind the professionalization of the sport, most vividly illustrated by Mrs. Heldman's leading the original formation of the women's pro tour.

The articles section of the magazine usually contains pieces written by the foremost tennis writers in the world, many of them being regular columnists on English or American newspapers. Some of these writers are listed on the masthead as contributing editors. TENNIS uses much more staff written material from writers other than contributing editors. The articles in WORLD TENNIS cover a wide range of subjects: tournaments, player profiles, issues in the international game, major team competition, travel and humor. One and two-page color pictorials of minor tournaments are also included regularly.

The depth of WORLD TENNIS' coverage of major events is best illustrated by that of the 1974 U.S. Open. The news article on the men's tournament was 12 pages long, the article on the women's tourney was six pages, and six of the 18 total pages had four-color photos, three with copy on the same page. Ruled off on four of the pages of the men's article was an interview with the eventual champion, Jimmy Connors. And in another part of the magazine, one of the regular columnists wrote a seven-page piece on interesting people connected with the tournament.

In sum, the editorial content of WORLD TENNIS is more geared to the tennis fan than to the player seeking to improve his game, but the player is not totally neglected. The October 1974 issue of ESQUIRE included a piece on what sports experts thought of sports magazines. The article said the following about tennis magazines:

> Every tennis expert we consulted began by saying that there are two strong contenders for the sport's best magazine, and every one ended up by voting for WORLD TENNIS as number one, especially for the results-oriented fan. WORLD TENNIS carries the scores of every match in every major tournament anywhere in the world, and even covers collegiate tennis reasonably well. TENNIS, on the other hand, presents superior instructional articles...[7]

Although some of these contentions are not entirely true, such as the coverage of collegiate tennis, the statement fairly well sums up the editorial differences between the two publications.

Graphically, the two magazines are quite different. TENNIS experiments much more with photos and artwork. The magazine was redesigned in 1972, including a new, small-letter logo and a more modern, streamlined design throughout. Column logos are simple and clear. TENNIS uses a lot of colored pages with black or white type. Sometimes pictures are bled over a two-page spread with white type used for copy on top of the photo. Many pictures have round-cropped edges.

The "Instruction Portfolio" uses sans-serif type, unlike the rest of the book. Often the instruction pieces are accompanied by stop-action photo sequences, or by "double exposure" line drawings showing different steps of the shot being explained. Two- and four-color art (mostly drawings) is used often. Lots of experimental photo techniques are used. Overall, the magazine has an innovative use of color photos and drawings. The cover is four-color, featuring an "action shot" of a player and lots of blurbs.

The graphics of WORLD TENNIS have changed many times. In 1963, the cover featured a black and white photo surrounded by a one-color border, upon which were cover blurbs. By 1967, the magazine had a four-color bled cover, a redesigned contents page, more stylized headlines and a greater amount of line drawings. The magazine had a new look in 1970, with a new logo and new headline styles. Two-color photos were used early in 1970, and then in August, the first pages of four-color appeared, some of which also had copy on them. The logo was changed once more in October 1970.

The current logo first appeared in 1972, but the cover photo was surrounded by a white border. Column heads were redesigned close to what they look like in 1974. The magazine now has a fairly modern look, though not as much so as TENNIS. The cover is now bled. The December 1974 issue includes a redesigned contents page. Color photos are used often, particularly with major feature articles. Color headlines, color pages with black type, bars, rules and two-color drawings all are used regularly.

Advertising data on the two magazines is quite sparse. In both, the majority of advertisements are for tennis products, such as racquets, clothes, shoes and courts. Hotel, travel and resort ads also are quite prevalent. Of non-tennis related items, liquor is advertised most often, and ads for such products often have a tennis angle.

In 1974, TENNIS carried almost 45 per cent advertising per issue. The number of ad pages in TENNIS has increased from 250 in 1971 to an estimated 594 in 1974.[8] From January through October 1974, TENNIS carried a total of 512.7 ad pages, compared to 436.2 for the same period in 1973.[9] TENNIS ranked fourth in volume of hotel, travel and resort page ads among all monthlies during the first six months of 1974.[10]

TENNIS offers classified ads, special rates to camps, resorts, hotels, chambers of commerce and tour and travel agencies. Inserts and reply cards, and a discount rate for advertisers buying space in a combined package with GOLF DIGEST. A full page black and white ad run once will cost $2,810 in January 1975, and a full page four-color ad will cost $4,075 for a one-time run starting in January 1975.

WORLD TENNIS' advertising to editorial ratio has steadily increased since 1963. In October 1963, WORLD TENNIS carried only 18 per cent advertising. The figure increased to 24 per cent in October 1967, then to 38 per cent in October 1970. By October 1972, WORLD TENNIS had 40 per cent advertising. The October 1974 issue carried almost 43 per cent advertising.

From January through October 1974, WORLD TENNIS carried a total of 593.9 ad pages, compared to 621.8 pages for the same period in 1973.[11] It ranked fifth among monthlies in volume of ad pages for hotels, travel, and resorts during the first six months of 1974.[12]

WORLD TENNIS also offers classified. A full-page black and white ad cost $1,875 for a one issue run, and a full-page four-color ad cost $2,735 for a one issue run, starting in April 1974.

Subscriber surveys conducted by the two magazines show that their readers are quite similar. The percentage of executives and professionals who subscribe to TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS, respectively, are 76 and 63. The median household income of a TENNIS subscriber is $22,000. Fifty-nine per cent of WORLD TENNIS' subscribers have a household income of over $20,000. TENNIS subscribers have a median age of 31.3, compared to 36 for WORLD TENNIS subscribers. Seventy per cent of TENNIS' subscribers attended college, while 81 per cent of WORLD TENNIS' subscribers are college graduates. The subscriber surveys also show that the majority of both magazines' subscribers own two or more cars and travel frequently. And the subscribers of both publications are avid tennis players. Seventy-five per cent of the subscribers to TENNIS play twice a week or more, compared to 86 per cent for WORLD TENNIS.[13]

Until 1974, WORLD TENNIS had a larger circulation than TENNIS. WORLD TENNIS' circulation was 7,666 in 1955, 39,612 in 1960, 42,887 in 1965 and 61,361 in 1970.[14] The magazine joined the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) in 1972. The initial audit of WORLD TENNIS by ABC for the six months ending Dec. 31, 1972, showed a total paid circulation of 69,692, of which 60,883 were subscriptions and 8,809 were single-copy sales. No advertising rate base was recorded at that time. The average non-paid distribution was 10,038.[15]

In 1968, TENNIS' circulation was 7,500. It had doubled by 1970, and then jumped to 67,695 total (paid and free) in 1972.[16] TENNIS joined ABC in 1973. Its initial audit, for the six months ending Dec. 31, 1973, showed a total paid circulation of 136,045, of which 113,169 were subscriptions and 22,876 were single copy sales. During that period, TENNIS had an advertising rate base of 100,000. The initial audit also showed a non-paid distribution of 10,563.[17]

The ABC statements for the two magazines ending June 30, 1974, show that TENNIS has overtaken WORLD TENNIS in circulation. TENNIS' average total paid circulation for the period was 181,804, compared to 130,712 for WORLD TENNIS. TENNIS had 155,180 total subscriptions and 26,624 single copy sales. In contrast, WORLD TENNIS had 108,306 total subscriptions and 26,624 single copy sales. The average non-paid distribution for TENNIS was 9,187, and 4,404 for WORLD TENNIS.

The geographical area with the highest per cent of total paid circulation -- 19.64 for TENNIS and 18.74 for WORLD TENNIS -- for both magazines was the Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania). The East North Central (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin) is the next highest area of per cent geographical distribution for TENNIS at 18.38, followed by 16.33 per cent in the South Atlantic (Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgie and Florida). Next to the Middle Atlantic, the South Atlantic has the highest per cent--16.66--total paid circulation for WORLD TENNIS. This region is followed by the Pacific (Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California and Hawaii) with 16.54 per cent.[18]

In a media data sheet on circulation comparison, TENNIS claims it delivered a 20 per cent bonus in circulation (per cent over advertising rate base) to advertisers during the six month period of the June 30, 1974 ABC statements. At the same time, the sheet claims, WORLD TENNIS failed to reach its advertising rate base by an average of 14 per cent.

WORLD TENNIS established an advertising rate base of 150,000 in April 1974. TENNIS set an advertising rate base of 180,000 effective July 1974, which will be raised to 225,000 effective January 1975.[19] Both magazines currently cost 75¢ for a single copy and $7 per year.

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

When Henry Luce, head of Time Inc., began investigating the success potentials of a weekly sports magazine in 1953, he got only negative reactions. "Publishing people all reacted pretty much the same way when they first heard about SI. . .Most agreed that it was doomed."[20] But Luce saw growing suburbs, a shorter work week and more vacation time for Americans, so although he knew almost nothing about sports himself, he thought his staff could successfully attract the audience of the leisure class.

The first issue of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED was dated Aug. 16, 1954. The magazine's purpose was to "report and illustrate the wonderful world of sport."[21] "They want to direct the magazine's appeal to the country club set, the upper income people,"[22] it was reported in 1954. The magazine originally had a circulation of 450,000 subscribers. At first, circulation was carefully controlled. Two hundred advertisers were committed to pay $1.3 million between the first issue and Jan. 1, 1955.

Despite the careful planning, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED was a financial failure. By 1960, Time, Inc. had lost $23 million on the magazine.[23] Luce, however, stayed confident. In 1960, he moved managing editor Sidney James to publisher, and replaced him at his old post with Andre Laguerre, who turned the magazine around. Laguerre hired clever young writers, changed the editorial emphasis from participant to spectator sports and aimed at a wider audience than just the "country club set." In order that the magazine could match the color of television, he got Luce to lease a $2.5 million press that would produce fast-color pages.

By 1964, the magazine was in the black. Ten years earlier, BUSINESS WEEK had predicted that SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's circulation would probably never reach one million. In 1970, the circulation topped two million.

An article in NEW YORK magazine in January 1973 stated, "It is an accepted fact that Laguerre will have his job as long as he likes and will handpick his replacement."[24] But in October 1973, Laguerre was forced out of his job, effective Feb. 1, 1974. Editor-in-Chief Hedley Donovan offered the following explanation for the move to NEWSWEEK. "It's a general policy here to have a turnover from time to time." But, NEWSWEEK reported, the real reasons were that Laguerre's independent control of the magazine and his old-fashioned life-style led to his dismissal.[25]

In 1972, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED earned an estimated $9 million,[26] and it now ranks fifth in both total ad revenue and ad pages for all consumer publications.[27]

As indicated earlier, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's editorial content shifted in 1960. Prior to then, the magazine had a heavy emphasis on sports such as hunting and fishing. The book was broken down into three basic parts: a front section of sports news, a center section on the outdoor participant sports and a rear section on subjects such as fashion, sport-in-art, travel and health.

Some of the regular departments included "Jimmy Jemail's Hotbox," where the author would pose a question to leading sports figures; "Fisherman's Calendar"; "Column of the Week," in which a leading sports writer of a U.S. newspaper would comment on a sports subject; "Tip from the Top, a weekly golf lesson from a top pro; "Spectacle," a four-color pictorial essay, and two departments which still appear--"Yesterday," a column on an incident in sports history, and "The 19th Hole," a letters column.

Even in the early years, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED had some excellent writing. Contributors included William Faulkner, J. P. Marquand and Catherine Drinker Bowen. Some of the early staff members have gone on to win high acclaim for their later writing about sports and other subjects. These people include Jack Olsen and Jim Murray.

Yet, the early issues lacked focus. "'Under James, SI was a bad magazine,' says Richard W. Johnston, an assistant managing editor under both James and Laguerre. 'He was unable to give it a format. It seemed like all the free-lance sportswriters in the country dug into their closets and sent us manuscripts. Those early issues of SI were cluttered with a ton of scattershot'."[28]

Under Laguerre, a clear editorial format was developed. The book is divided into four basic sections: major news stories, personality features and pictorials, short news columsn and a long "bonus" piece in the back. There are also numerous regular departments in each issue. They include: "Scorecard," a series of short news items and editorials in the front; "TV/Radio," a one-page review column in the center separating the features from the news columns; "People," a one-page collection of gossip items (it alternates with "TV/Radio" in the center); "For the Record," a one-page round up of the week's major sports results in the back; "Faces in the Crowd," captioned pictures of successful but unheard of amateur athletes on the "For the Record" page, and the "19th Hole" letters column at the end of the book.

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED has a number of special features each year, such as the "Sportsman of the Year" at the end of each year, and the issues which preview college and pro football and basketball, pro hockey, the Masters golf tournament and baseball's new season. The regular major feature articles are most often about major sporting events, like a big college football game, a heavyweight boxing match or an important golf tournament.

In a sense, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED is really a critic. "'The public is naturally inclined, once it has seen an event, to desire to read what an expert thought of it,' Johnston said. 'Whereas television presents a sports event as it occurs, SI describes it in depth and with perspective'."[29]

However, not all coverage is on major sports events. Through the first week of December 1974, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED had articles on 77 different subjects during the year, compared to 62 for all of 1955. And those subjects in 1974 included sports such as bodybuilding, earth games, horse pulling and slingshooting, in addition to the staples such as basketball, baseball and football.

The writing quality is quite good. Staff member Dan Jenkins has won praise for his humorous news stories, and contributors include journalists such as George Plimpton. SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's greatest achievement editorially was being awarded the National Magazine Award in 1973 for a three-part series on "Women in Sports" by Bill Gilbert and Nancy Williamson.

Finally, the magazine has covered tennis fairly well over the years. It ran 22 tennis stories in 1955, compared to 15 through the first week of December 1974. However, the 1955 pieces were news features.

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED has excellent graphics. By 1965, it had the same basic design as today. The format is highly regular, with one type face, a few ruled lines and consistent heads. But the magazine is anything but dull, due to its color photography and artwork. Use of color photos has expanded greatly since 1954. In the early years, color photos were almost always used only in pictorials. Copy seldom appeared on the same page as color photography. Now, virtually every feature article, as well as some news columns, is illustrated with four-color photos or art, and copy is mixed freely on the page with photos.

The amount of advertising in SPORTS ILLUSTRATED varies from about 54 to 60 per cert. This figure changes in accordance with regional and metropolitan ads from week to week.

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED carried 2,626.13 total ad pages in 1973, an increase of 15 per cent over 1972. The total ad revenue for the magazine in 1973 was $58,875,481, a 23 per cent jump over 1972.[30] From January through October 1974, the magazine carried 1,917.5 ad pages, down somewhat from 2,028.2 ad pages in the same period of 1973.[31]

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's main competition for advertising comes from TIME, NEWSWEEK and U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. In 1973, the magazine passed U.S. NEWS in ad pages, ad revenue and circulation. This development was followed by a new campaign to attract advertisers, which referred to SPORTS ILLUSTRATED as "the third newsweekly." William Clark, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's Midwest advertising director, said the campaign was designed to get media planners in advertising agencies to see the magazine as a newsweekly instead of a specialized magazine. As a result, Clark added, "We are getting campaigns now we probably wouldn't have gotten before."[32]

According to Clark, one category of advertisers that has responded to the campaigns is that which represents corporations, businesses and industries. "It's the single biggest growing category of ads we carry," Clark said. The largest category of advertising in 1973 was automobiles and accessories. SPORTS ILLUSTRATED carried 602.43 pages of auto ads in 1973, which produced a revenue of $14,486,792. The next highest categories were smoking materials (349.6 pages and $9,422,010 in revenue) and beer, wine and liquor (319.41 pages and $8,130,790 in revenue.)[34] These ad categories tend to correlate with the predominantly young, rich male readership of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED.

The magazine offers split runs and special inserts to advertisers. Also, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED has geographical editions (Eastern, Midwestern, Western and Southern), metropolitan editions (New York, Chicago, Northern California, Southern California, and California, which is a combination of the Southern and Northern California editions), and a Snow Belt edition (covering Conn., Iowa, Maine, Mass., Mich., Minn., N.H., N.J., N.Y., N.D., Pa., R.I., S.F., Va. and Wis.).

Starting with the Jan. 6, 1975 issue, a full page black and white ad run once in the national edition will cost $18,780, and a full page four-color ad run once in the national edition will cost $29,295. The circulation base at that time will be 2,250,000.[35]

The median age of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's adult audience is 32.6. The audience's median household income is $15,905, with 32.1 per cent of the audience having a household income of $20,000 or more. Almost half of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's adult audience (49.2 per cent) attended and/or graduated from college. Close to 45 per cent of the audience holds either professional-managerial or sales-clerical occupations. Nearly half of the audience (47.4 per cent) live in counties within the 25 largest metropolitan areas of the U.S. Of the total adult audience, 78.9 per cent is male. The male audience overall is younger, poorer and better educated than the female audience.[36]

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's initial circulation in 1954, as stated earlier, was 450,000. It increased steadily, reaching 586,039 in 1956, 883,137 in 1960, 1,096,317 in 1965 and over 2,000,000 in 1970.[37]

The average paid circulation for six months ending June 30, 1974 was 2,331,510. Of that total, 2,245,922 were subscription sales and 85,588 were single copy sales. The average total non-paid circulation for the period was 73,346.

Of the total U.S. paid circulation, 42.76 per cent were in counties within the 25 largest metropolitan areas. The U.S. geographic areas with the largest per cent of total paid circulation were the East North Central (19.1), the Middle Atlantic (18.09), the Pacific (14.49) and the South Atlantic (14.01) for the April 8, 1974 issue. The same issue had a total paid circulation of 57,851 in Canada, which was 2.46 per cent of the total paid circulation for the entire issue.[38]

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED currently costs 75¢ for a single copy and $14 per year.

WOMENSPORTS

WOMENSPORTS is the newest addition to the sports magazine field. It was started by tennis star Billie Jean King and her husband Larry, who are co-publishers of the magazine. The Kings recruited an experienced staff, including Rosalie Wright, former managing editor of PHILADELPHIA magazine, as editor of WOMENSPORTS. Contributors include not only established writers like Judy Klemesrud, but also women athletes such as swimmer Donna de Varona. The first issue appeared in June 1974.

The editorial content of WOMENSPORTS is quite broad, but it always relates to women in sports. The magazine features personality profiles, news stories, how-to articles, articles about health, fashion and equipment, and pieces dealing with the major problems of women's athletics in general. All sports are covered, from football to backgammon, from tennis to curling.

The magazine has regular departments, including: "Letters;" "Kickers," a column of short news items; "In a Pig's Eye," a column written by a different male sports writer each month; "Aces," personality profiles on unknown but highly accomplished female athletes; "Foremothers," a profile on a famous woman athlete of the past; "Equipment;" "Technique," an instruction column; "Signals," a guide to things like sports books, or sports associations, and "Sedentary Sports," a column on indoor games.

Other regular departments include "Results," a round up of scores of women's sporting events in the U.S., "Calendar," a guide to upcoming women's sporting events, and "Last Word," an opinion piece on the last page of the book.

Feature stories in the first seven issues have dealt with subjects such as the controversy over girls playing Little League baseball, professional football for women, golf pro Laura Baugh, how to defend yourself against male attackers and the U.S.--East German swim meet. In September 1974, WOMENSPORTS ran a 24-page special section entitled "The Revolution in Women's Sports." It included articles on how to get college scholarships, how sex discrimination laws apply to sports, and how women must change their attitudes towards sports so they do not see it as strictly a field for men. The section was a very thorough examination of the current status of women's athletics.

The graphics of WOMENSPORTS are very modern. Two- and four-color photography and other graphic artwork are used extensively. Type faces vary, layouts are innovative and colored pages are often used. The graphics suffer sometimes from being too "busy." The magazine does not have a very ordered look. The cover is four-color, usually a bleed photo, though one bordered photo and one four-color drawing have been used. The logo is in lower case type, except for the middle "S" (i.e. womenSports). Cover blurbs vary in type face and placement.

Advertising content varies. Among the ads in the December 1974 issue were ones for cosmetics, golf clubs, liquor, perfume, magazines, shampoo, records, clothes, sports shoes, hair dryers and cigarettes. The same issue carried five ads affiliated with WOMENSPORTS. The first issue of the magazine was criticized because six of the 26 ads featured Ms. King. She was featured in only two of 35 ads in the December issue.

The percentage of ad pages in the magazine has increased from 21.6 per cent in June to 32 per cent in December. Effective with the August 1974 issue, a full page black and white ad cost $2200, and a full page four-color ad cost $3500. The ad rates are based on a circulation of 200,000.[39]

WOMENSPORTS conducted an audience survey in October 1974. The survey shows that 97 per cent of the audience is female, and 74 per cent of the audience is single. Exactly half (50 per cent) of the audience is employed in professional-managerial or teaching occupations. Age statistics show 73 per cent of the audience is within the age range of 18 to 34, and 85 per cent are 18 or older. Almost 80 per cent of the audience has had some college education. The median household income is $16,538, 41 per cent of the audience lives in the suburban areas and 100 per cent participate in sports.[40]

A survey of WOMENSPORTS' circulation has not yet been completed. Estimated paid circulation is 200,000. The magazine costs $1.00 for a single copy and $12.00 per year.

CONCLUSIONS

STANDARD RATE AND DATA CONSUMER MAGAZINE AND FARM PUBLICATIONS lists 108 sports magazines. They range from weeklies to annuals. Some, like THE SPORTING NEWS and GOLF WORLD NEWSWEEKLY are strictly for the die-hard fan of a particular sport (baseball for the former, golf for the latter). Others, like MIDWEST SKIERS' GUIDE, are aimed exclusively at the participant in a single sport. Sports covered by the magazines range from archery to yachting. Many sports magazines are publications of associations, such as GOLF JOURNAL, the official publication of the United States Golf Association. With the addition of WOMENSPORTS, every aspect of the sports field seems to be covered by a publication, but undoubtedly new magazines on new subjects in the field will emerge, as will magazines that try to improve coverage on subjects now covered by other publications.

The magazines considered here have illustrated the scope of sports magazines. TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS are monthlies concerned with one sport. One is participant-oriented, the other spectator-oriented. Together they cover the sport quite thoroughly. An argument could be made, however, for the need of a tennis newsweekly to cover the expanding pro game for the die-hard fan the way GOLF WORLD NEWSWEEKLY covers pro golf. TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS get some competition from TENNIS USA and TENNIS ILLUSTRATED. TENNIS USA has recently been purchased by Chilton Publications. It is the official publication of the United States Lawn Tennis Association (USLTA). Previously, its circulation had been limited to USLTA members, but subscriptions are now being offered on a more open basis. It surely will provide some competition to TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS in the future. TENNIS ILLUSTRATED is a combination of two other tennis magazines, TENNIS WEST and TENNIS TIMES. It has yet to gain the prominence of TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS. Both TENNIS USA and TENNIS ILLUSTRATED have rates based on circulation of 50,000.

WOMENSPORTS is a monthly magazine aimed at a specific audience, the women interested in sports both as a participant and a spectator, with the emphasis leaning towards the former. Aside from the general sports magazines and some women's magazines that cover women's sports in a peripheral manner, WOMENSPORTS' only competition is a magazine entitled THE SPORTSWOMAN, which is not listed in SRDS.

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED is the leader in the field, Probably its greatest competition comes from THE SPORTING NEWS and SPORT. The fomer covers the major spectator sports (baseball, basketball, football and hockey) thoroughly, but in newspaper format. It does not offer the graphics, nor the feature-style writing of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED. The latter is also inferior graphically to SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, and is a monthly, unlike SPORTS ILLUSTRATED and THE SPORTING NEWS. Its editorial content consists primarily of profiles of sports stars.

There are reports that Playboy Enterprises is planning to start a sports magazine in the near future that will be a general participant-oriented publication, somewhat like the early SPORTS ILLUSTRATED. William Clark said he does not think any magazine, including the planned Playboy publication, will be able to compete successfully with SPORTS ILLUSTRATED. Clark cites the head start SPORTS ILLUSTRATED already has on any new publication, and the enormous costs that inevitably would be incurred in such a project, as reasons in support of his contention. In sum, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED occupies a unique position in the sports magazine field. It would take enormous effort and expense to dislodge the magazine.

Finally, sports magazines must be considered an important part of the magazine field and communications in general. They provide a service that is beyond the scope of newspapers, television, and general interest magazines. The sports magazines provide readers with a great deal of specialized information that cannot be obtained through other media. They provide a sense of perspective on developments within the field of spectator sports as well as detailed service information for people who participate in sports. As long as they continue to fulfill these two important functions, the sports magazines will continue to enjoy the success they have experienced up to now.

NOTES

[1] "Around the World," WORLD TENNIS, December 1974, pp. 80-81.

[2] Media Fact Sheet for TENNIS USA magazine.

[3] Media Fact Sheet for TENNIS.

[4] Asher J. Birnbaum, "It's Only a Bloody Game," TENNIS, November 1972.

[5] Ron Boomman, "Comment," WORLD TENNIS, November 1974, p. 10.

[6] Memo to TENNIS magazine sales staff from Edgar Harrison, associate sales manager, Nov. 19, 1974.

[7] Jim Dunaway and Bob Hersh, "A Guide to Hard-Core Magazines," ESQUIRE, October 1974, p. 157.

[8] Memo to TENNIS magazine sales staff.

[9] "Ad Pages in October Consumer Publications," ADVERTISING AGE, Oct. 21, 1974, p. 91.

[10] Memo to TENNIS magazine sales staff.

[11] ADVERTISING AGE, p. 91.

[12] Memo to TENNIS magazine sales staff.

[13] Results of subscriber surveys in Media Fact Sheets for TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS.

[14] N. W. Ayer, DIRECTORY OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

[15] Initial Audit of WORLD TENNIS by the Audit Bureau of Circulations, Dec. 31, 1972.

[16] N. W. Ayer.

[17] Initial Audit of TENNIS by the Audit Bureau of Circulations. Dec. 31, 1973.

[18] Two paragraphs based on ABC statements for TENNIS and WORLD TENNIS for six months ending June 30, 1974. Geographical distribution based on May 1974 issue of TENNIS, and June 1974 issue of WORLD TENNIS.

[19] Rate cards for WORLD TENNIS and TENNIS, dated April 1974 for the former and February and August 1974 for the latter.

[20] BUSINESS WEEK, Aug. 7, 1954, p. 54.

[21] SPORTS ILLUSTRATED quoted in TIME, May 17, 1954, p. 95.

[22] BUSINESS WEEK, pp. 54-5.

[23] Gerald Holland, "Lunches with Luce," THE ATLANTIC, May 1971, p. 54.

[24] Sandy Treadwell, "The Superstar of Time Inc.," NEW YORK, Jan. 22, 1973, p. 42.

[25] NEWSWEEK, Oct. 22, 1973, pp. 137-139.

[26] Treadwell, NEW YORK, p. 38.

[27] Interview with William Clark, Midwest advertising director for SPORTS ILLUSTRATED.

[28] Treadwell, NEW YORK, p. 41.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Publisher's Information Bureau Magazine Service, 1973.

[31] ADVERTISING AGE, p. 91.

[32] Clark interview.

[33] Ibid.

[34] PIB.

[35] Rate Card for SPORTS ILLUSTRATED dated effective Jan. 6, 1975 (no issue date indicated).

[36] SPORTS ILLUSTRATED Fact Sheet based on 1974 data from W. R. Simmons.

[37] N. W. Ayer.

[38] Two paragraphs based on ABC statement for SPORTS ILLUSTRATED for six months ending June 30, 1974.

[39] Rate Card for WOMENSPORTS, effective August 1974 (no issue date indicated).

[40] WOMENSPORTS Audience Survey, October 1974.

Career-Oriented Women's Magazines

Gwen Miller

Approximately thirty-three million American women work, making up over 40 per cent of the work force. They have all types of jobs, although one-third are bookkeepers, secretaries, typists or file clerks. About 17 per cent are service workers and 16 per cent have jobs that require professional or technical skills.[1]

Whether an executive secretary or chemical engineer, the career woman is regarded as a prime consumer. As one Chicago advertising representative said: "It is important to reach these people. It is where the action is!"

One means of reaching them has been the magazine, according to Theodore Peterson in his book, "Magazines in the Twentieth Century."

> The emancipation of American women who began holding down positions which had once been the prerogative of men, opened a market for magazines aimed at the career girl."

Two of the earliest of these magazines were Mademoiselle in 1935 and Glamour in 1939. Cosmopolitan entered the career market in 1965 after a complete personality change. Ms. magazine is a newcomer, having started in late 1971.

Mademoiselle

Mademoiselle was begun by Street and Smith publishers. It resembled Vogue, a fashion magazine, but assumed a lower economic and age range (17-30) on the part of its readers. Although essentially fashion oriented, the magazine also had a beauty accent. Mademoiselle differed from Glamour in that it was more of a trend-setter, more avant garde. It was, and still is, one of the few publications that will actually design and produce its own fashions. Unique also, to Mademoiselle is that it has had only two editors since 1935.[2]

The feminist movement, especially in the last two years, has had a definite effect on the magazine, according to western advertising manager Richard Sheehan Jr.

"There have been more and more opportunities opening up for women and we have been conscious of change. We have placed heavier accent on a girl's total environment."

In recent years Mademoiselle has had articles on psychotherapy, consciousness raising groups, bisexuality and natural childbirth. There have been articles on women as lawyers, doctors, politicians, police officers, forest rangers and even animal trainers and stunt women.

Mademoiselle editor, Edith Locke, says her publication takes a more abstract approach than does Glamour. Although they do some "how to" material, there is greater accent on self-help, self-motivation.

"We do a lot of 'head' or interior type articles," Locke said.

Mademoiselle uses more fiction than do the other career-oriented magazines. It has encouraged and published such writers as Philip Roth, Edward Albee, Lawrence Durrell, Truman Capote and Joyce Carol Oates. In 1972 it was awarded the National Magazine Award for Fiction with "particular admiration" for a November 1971 story by William Kotzwinkle.

Also featured in Mademoiselle are college and career columns. Twenty-five per cent of its readership is in college, the highest percentage of any of the magazines,[3] and accordingly the Mademoiselle staff is young: 75 per cent are under 30.

"This is where our readership is and we feel it is terribly important to have a young staff," said Locke.

Both Sheehan and Locke question the premise that Cosmopolitan is a competitor and don't feel the two magazines share common ground.

"The 'how to get your man, keep your man' approach in rather detailed form we wouldn't touch with a ten-foot pole. The plunging neckline young woman I don't think reflects their readership. Their readership is probably quite a bit older. Maybe read largely for thrills because they are out of the plunging neckline business," Locke said.

Sheehan views Cosmopolitan as replacing the True Confession, Young Romance publications in terms of audience need.

During the mid-50's and early 60's, Mademoiselle was a composite of articles on fashion, men, marriage and beauty. According to advertising copy in the November 1963 the Mademoiselle reader should be "taunting and haunting" men. Or at least making it so "he can't forget you" and remembering that "if men fight to the end over you, you can always blame it on Tweed perfume."

The ultimate goal was marriage according to ad kickers during the 60's. Some read:

> What makes him think of rings and things? A Gorham girl knows. It's so much more than the curve of your cheek or candle glow on your hair. It's the endearing grace you'll bring to every day, every happy moment of your life together!
>
> You get the license...I'll get the Lenox
>
> How to turn a man's mind to marriage
>
> When he gives you a Lane Sweetheart Chest to fill, you know he's ready for marriage, for sharing a home, for helping you pick out the tables, bedroom...

Editorial material then advised the reader what to do once she had her man. The material discussed could still apply to many marriages.

> The Life of Wife--How To Live With Your Husband's Career: A good husband being traditionally hard to find, any woman of sense will, once she's found one, exert every effort to make him a good wife. While all occupations present a wife with some unique conditions, some of the same problems, like the hours any wife must spend alone...

> How Can A Wife Further Her Husband's Career? First of all by creating a cheerful and relaxing place for him to come home to. And secondly, by making him proud of you and your home. Remember that the impressions you create can affect the impression others have of him.
>
> On Being A Faculty Wife: A faculty wife is a person who is married to a faculty. She has frequently read at least one good book lately, she has one nice black dress to wear and she is always just the teeniest bit in the way. It is probably that ten years ago or so she had a face and personality of her own, but if she has it still she is expected to keep it decently to herself.

Beauty, getting it and maintaining it, was the subject of many Mademoiselle pages. The December 1960 issue said:

> Just as speedily as the physicists are shooting miracles moonward, the cosmetic people are popping things into jars and bottles. And, in a quiet way, the results are just as spectacular. American women are quickly becoming a race of beauties whose faces defy time and climate.

Beauty seemed to be the key to success, even in the business world. A January 1959 article reported that because of the worse man-power shortage in history, more and more college women may now hold jobs that are considered men's. The key question according to the writer seemed to be: "How does the job affect my status as a woman? Working in a man's world do I seem and feel more or less feminine?" The article also said that the answer to success in the business world is, simply, a beauty look that men like.

Sex is touched on lightly from 1955 to 1965. In January 1961 an article appeared on birth control pills, their cost, availability and side affects. A movie scene of a couple in bed asks: "Is it cinematic art or mere sensationalism?" Later an article takes on the arguments for and against chastity.

> Most college girls of today reject the idea that premarital sex is categorically immoral for everyone. Most, however, have not had premarital intercourse and do not intend to.

Besides fashion and beauty products, other advertisers in Mademoiselle during the 50's and 60's were silverware, furniture, wedding invitations and other bridal needs.

Glamour

Glamour was conceived by Condé Nast Publishing in April 1939.

When Condé Nast bought Street & Smith in 1959, it merged Glamour with the latter company's publication called Charm. This brought circulation to more than a million. Today Condé Nast owns both Glamour and Mademoiselle. The magazines do compete but it is company policy that "neither speak badly of the other" according to Sheehan. Glamour's circulation of 1,710,785 is double Mademoiselle's 807,352.[4]

Glamour's major accent during the mid-50's and early 60's was fashion, jobs and practical advice. The "how to" approach was prevalent in such article titles as "How to Have a Colorful Personality," "How to Spend Your Fashion Money" and even "How to Wash Your Face."

Of interest during this time is the fact that Gloria Steinem, now a well-known spokesperson for the feminist movement and a founder of Ms. magazine, was a contributing editor to Glamour. She was also free-lancing for other publications but called Glamour the closest thing she had to an office. She wrote articles such as "How To Put Up With or Put Down a Difficult Man" and "How to Leave Home Gracefully," for Glamour.

Glamour differed markedly from Mademoiselle during the 1950's and early 1960's in that it had a definite accent on jobs, most of them secretarial. A January 1950 article entitled: "The Secretarial Story" featured various secretaries across the nation. One was Helen Gurley (now editor of Cosmopolitan). She said the best thing about her job was having a boss who frequently asked her for advice and listened to her opinions.

Another article gave traditional job suggestions such as a classified ad taker, shopping center hostess, doll-maker, librarian or stewardess.

"Good Manners On The Job" asked the following questions:

> Q: When an employer introduces his wife to his secretary should the secretary rise?
> A: Yes, regardless of her age, the wife should be shown that much deference.
>
> Q: Does a young woman employee in a subordinant position speak to an officer of the company in the hall unless he speaks to her?
> A: No.
>
> Q: Does a woman on going to a man's office send in either her visiting card or her business card?
> A: Yes, this is one of the few occasions when a woman leaves her card for a man.

"Men at Work, Look at Women at Work" featured Tony Trabert, U.S. Amateur Tennis champ. His "ideal female creature" would have equal portions of intelligence, humor, affability, energy and enthusiasm, well-spiced with maternal instinct. The article went on:

> There should be a balance, neither too passive nor too independent. And bless him he thinks there are few jobs for which women are unsuited. Except they do look kind of out-of-place driving a taxi cab.

Some of the articles which ran in the 1950's lacked excitement. "Why

I Cheat at Croquet," "Basic Flower Design," "The Salvation Army Marks 70th Year," "An Interview With Ozzie and Harriet" and "Little Delights to Give Your Bathroom" were a few of the titles.

Advertisements were much more career-oriented than in Mademoiselle. Nurses' uniforms, typewriters, erasers and secretarial schools were major advertisers. Jewelry, make-up, weight reducing programs, girdles and fashions were other ads. The February 1950 issue had one ad for cigarettes, "You"re darn tootin my dad smokes Marlboro...he knows what's good for him."

Glamour underwent some changes seven years ago when Ruth Whitney became its editor. She added columns on books, movies, health, sex and also instigated the "How To Do Anything Better Guide," an eight-page spread which could tell how to hail a taxi, write a resumé or patch a bicycle tire.

The changes in Glamour are partly products of the times, says Whitney. She is also more political than her predecessor.

"These are busy years in terms of women. The Equal Rights Amendment, education, are causing change," she said.

Only 30 to 40 per cent of the magazine is fashion according to Whitney and the rest is "something else." That "something else" could be articles on women in prisons, the changing expectations of marriage, safety tips for women travelling alone or the costs of having a baby. Beginning in January 1975, Glamour will carry a monthly editorial feature dealing with money. Says Edward J. Murphy, manager of the Midwest office:

> "We'll have articles on bonds, insurance, the stock market and various means of investing."

Glamour is a broad-based publication and aside from sex and age, its readers are heterogeneous.

"Some of them are in school, some in high school, some are married, some are single, some have children, some are working. Or they could be doing three or four of these at one time," said Whitney.

Of the four or five major articles each month at least one is guaranteed to attract a female reader. Every article is weighted on what is in it for the reader.

"What can it give her she didn't have, tell her she didn't know, how can it help her," Whitney said.

Glamour tries to keep articles geared to what reader's want. Surveys, letters and monthly editorial research help accomplish this goal according to Murphy.

"Every editorial page is researched by Starch and given a complete evaluation. Readers are asked if they read a certain article, part of it, noticed it or rejected it completely."

Whitney maintains it is more important to publish articles on what her readers care about, not what she personally cares about or would like to read.

"The time in which a magazine could sink or swim on the basis of one strong editor and one strong point of view is over," she said.

When asked about competitors, Whitney called Cosmopolitan a "complementary competitor." She feels its editorial concept is quite different and its reader older.

"Sometimes I will get an article that was obviously a Cosmo reject. Helen Gurley Brown has turned it down. It just shrieks of Cosmo. I'm sure she gets things that were originally directed to us," said Whitney.

Ms. magazine

The principals in Ms. magazine, Gloria Steinem and Pat Carbine, first met at Look magazine where Carbine was executive editor. Steinem was free-lancing an article on Cesar Chavez and conflicts arose between the business and advertising sides over whether the article should run.

"It was a real moment of truth. The article did finally appear and it was through this that Gloria and I got to know each other and what we each stood for," said Carbine.

A few years later Carbine was to have the opportunity to "put her money where her mouth was," as she calls it. In March 1972 she left her editorship at McCall's magazine to become editor-publisher of a new magazine for and by women called Ms.

The goals of Ms. originally were to (1) rise above the ad dollar and stress editorial integrity (2) try to function in a democratic way (3) present the real world of what women were wanting, using and needing (4) have the staff retain the controlling interest and (5) never become a catalog of advertising.

Ms. has maintained an approximate 35 per cent ad content to 65 per cent editorial material in each issue. To accomplish this mix, it has asked more support of its readers. Carbine explained:

"If the magazine is filling a need, is a service, the reader should pay a fair price. Not 35¢ for a $1.50 product. We found there was a whole new kind of person who cared about the magazine and cared about the type of advertising we ran."

The introductory issue of Ms. was priced at $1.50; issues now sell for $1.00. No cut-rate prices or premiums are offered to new subscribers.[5]

The Ms. backers tested 80,000 names prior to publication. They received a dynamic response of 6½ per cent (1½ to 2 per cent is considered good).[6]

"Test lists from Psychology Today, Common Cause, the American Civil Liberties Union and Ralph Nader supporters were good. Lists of women bowlers were not too responsive," said Carbine.

Even with proof of a market, Ms. had trouble finding financial backing. Katherine Graham, publisher of the Washington Post, added support but most investors questioned whether the Ms. group had enough publishing experience. What accounted for the lack of experience was the fact that very few women had been given the opportunity to hold high positions in the publishing industry.

"The staff lived on bank loans and candy bars for many months, and what I could get from the McCall's kitchen," Carbine said.

Finally Clay Felker, editor of New York magazine made Ms. an offer. Says Stephanie Harrington in her August 11, 1974 New York Times Magazine article entitled "Two Faces of the Same Eve:"

> Under the editorial direction of the Ms. group New York magazine's production staff turned out a 300,000 copy

> preview issue of *Ms.*, selections from which appeared first as an insert in *New York*'s 1971 year-end double issue. On the basis of 36,000 subscription orders brought in by the Preview Issue, Warner Communications agreed to invest $1-million in *Ms.* for only 25 per cent of the stock.

Felker has said: "Certainly the publishing world offers a staggering array of magazines aimed at a women's readership. Invariably, however, these magazines see women in their traditional stereotypes as homemakers or clothes horses or mothers or hostesses. That is hardly the entire story."

Carbine sees *Ms.* and the *Ms.* Foundation (10 per cent of the magazine's profits go to this fund for feminist projects) as a means of destroying centuries' old labels and stereotypes.

"We are revolutionizing the establishment and seizing control of our lives. The Great American Dream is not enough. Women are saying, 'My God, is this all there is?' It leads to disillusionment, guilt and craziness. Women are not talking to each other enough. We want to be the connecting piece for them," said Carbine.

When asked about *Cosmopolitan*, Carbine said it inevitably will change. Steinem has dubbed it "the unliberated woman's survival kit."

"*Cosmo* is a transitional magazine for some women. *Playgirl* and *Viva*, too, but not as much. There are no real erotic magazines for women, and we won't have any until they are done by women. Being done by men makes about as much sense as *Ebony* being done by whites," Carbine said.

Ms.' future is relaxed, wide-ranged and secure according to Carbine. Circulation is at 386,363 and expected to go to 500,000 following a major subscription campaign in early 1975.

"We can take our time now. Our place is out front. We will continue to widen the feminist lens. Someday, perhaps in 20 or 25 years we can be a humanist magazine," she said.

Also optimistic about the future of *Ms.* is Midwest representative Lynn Thomas. She is one of three original salespersons, having been recruited from *New Woman* magazine in June 1972.

"I got a call one day saying Pat Carbine was inquiring about my joining the staff of a new magazine. I said, 'Who is he?' When I was told *she* was with *Ms.* magazine I immediately pictured a fanatic, pushy feminist publication and almost said I wasn't interested," said Thomas.

After meeting Carbine, she took the sales job and now says it is the best thing she could have done.

"I love what we're doing, love the magazine, love the people. Pat is one of the most respected people in the field today. I'd work for free if necessary," she said.

Ms. has a policy against accepting ads that demean women or are potentially dangerous.

"Most magazines accept almost all ads unless utterly, gutterly obscene. We decided from the beginning that we wouldn't accept certain ads," Thomas said.

Ms. makes a major effort to get advertisers of "people products" such as cars, airplane tickets, books, records, cameras, sporting goods and insurance. They work closely with creative directors and in several cases have turned down ads, such as the "You've Come a Long Way, Baby" Virginia Slim campaign, a contract worth $80,000.

"That was a very soul searching time, especially since they had done so much for women's tennis. But the ad said we could now vote, we could smoke in public...if that's all we've done in 100 years then where in the hell have we come?" said Thomas.

Advertising doesn't seem to be suffering from the stringent ad policy. The December 1974 issue had 30 full page ads (early issues had approximately 10) and included Exxon, Atlantic Richfield Company, International Paper and Travelers Insurance.

"We're getting ads the other women's magazines can't get," said Thomas.

Ms. has been accused of being shrill and lacking in humor, especially in the early issues. Carbine said, "So be it." We have a point of view and we're trying to make people understand it."

The first issue of Ms. had articles ranging from an interview with Daniel Ellsberg to "How to Write Your Own Marriage Contract." One entitled "Down With Sexist Upbringing" gave examples of how children are taught traditional boy-girl roles in our society. Letty Cotlin Pogrebin wrote:

> A Flintstone program showing how wives play dumb to build their husband's ego can be more harmful to a small child's developing sense of values than a panel on premarital sex or drug addiction."

Another article was a feminist rating of the 1972 political candidates. Nixon's critique said:

> He is neither a ladies' man nor a women's rights advocate. He seems to be nowhere when it comes to women. Reassuring the girls of Girl's Nation on August 6, 1971, Nixon said: 'You will not be discriminated against.' However, Nixon has appointed no women to Cabinet rank or to the Supreme Court. All the President's top advisers are men.

On Wilbur Mills, the article was a little less accurate in light of recent news. It read:

> A Bible-Belt Methodist, Mills is not known to socialize in Washington. A friend said 'His hobby is work.'

The first issue of Ms. in overview is not light reading. Many of the articles later appeared in a book, The Ms. Reader. It is serious writing on a serious subject. But Gloria Steinem promised more humor in future issues. She said in the July 1972 issue:

> ...there were people, especially, but not only men--who accused us of having no sense of humor. We're not sure what they meant by that, but we'll see to it in the future that there's as much laughter in the magazine as in the

office. And that's a lot.

Cosmopolitan

Cosmopolitan was begun in 1886 as a family monthly. It was based on the premise that readers wanted to know about the world, that they were politically concerned and responsible. *Cosmopolitan* is credited with causing Theodore Roosevelt to coin the phrase "muckraking" after a controversial article appeared entitled "Treason in the Senate." There were columns entitled "Social Problems," "Review of Current Events" and Travel." Literature was also stressed, and contributors included Mark Twain, Henry James and Conan Doyle. Articles also appeared on aviation, automobiles, radium discoveries, world fairs, education and developments in other countries. *Cosmopolitan* sent reporters around the world.

H. R. Hearst purchased the magazine in 1905, and the content took a more literary swing and soon was claiming "More novels, more stories, more features than any magazine in the world." A popular ground had been found, and *Cosmopolitan*'s content compared favorably with *Harper*'s, according to Frank Luther Mott, in his book *A History of American Magazines*.

During the 1950's *Cosmopolitan* turned to photography, art and cartoons. It was an entertainment magazine for both men and women. During the early 60's it took on the appearance of a movie magazine. The covers were filled with kickers and only partial room was given to a cover photo, usually of a film or television personality. There were articles entitled: "World's Richest Family," "Senate Wives Speak Out," "What Hitchcock does with his Blood Money" and "What the TV Viewer Doesn't See." In 1964 the reader was sheltered from Vietnam. Only one article appeared on it and was entitled, "The Incredible Women of Vietnam... Democracy's outpost in SE Asia owes much to the celebrated Dragon Ladies of Vietnam."

By 1965 *Cosmopolitan* was in financial trouble. Circulation had fallen to 800,000 and there were only 21 pages of advertising. Salvation came in the form of Helen Gurley Brown, a tenacious, opinionated woman with two best-sellers to her credit and substantial experience in advertising. She had an idea for a new magazine aimed at the single, young working woman. Her husband, a one-time *Cosmopolitan* editor, encouraged her to present her idea. She approached Richard Deems, president of the Hearst Magazine Division, with a dummy of the new magazine. Nora Ephron wrote in her February 1972 *Esquire* article entitled "Helen Gurley Brown Only Wants to Help:"

> He (Deems) had vaguely heard of her, had no idea she was at all controversial...But he liked her, he liked her idea...most of all, he liked her long list of companies that might be willing to advertise in such a magazine.

In July 1965, Brown was named editor of *Cosmopolitan*. Soft-core pornography and seduction became the themes and soon bare-shouldered and then practically bare-bosomed girls appeared on the covers. With the "Cosmo cleavages" as they are sometimes called.

Editorially, Cosmopolitan follows a theory of simplicity and sexual senationalism. The articles are "baby simple" to use Brown's words and according to Writer's Market '74, the publication likes to stay away from "very cosmic pieces--about space, war-on-poverty, civil rights etc.".[7]

Said a March 1972 Time article:

> The articles still bear those titles that sound like bad 19th century novels, "How An Unpretty Girl Copes And Conquers." Cope and conquer she might, the Cosmo girl is still treated like an idiot who can survive only if everything is spelled out for her and then underlined.

Cosmopolitan's biggest accent is on what Brown calls "inspirational" articles. Titles such as "What To Do If You Have Dumb Hair," "How I Chose My Career," "Whatever Its Size or Shape, How To Put Your Best Bosom Forward" and "Why I Wear My False Eyelashes To Bed" are examples of this type article.

Cosmopolitan is credited with being the first magazine to recognize women's sexual needs and nature and the first established American women's magazine to feature nude male centerfolds. Burt Reynolds, John Davidson, and Jim Brown have all appeared proving, as Helen Gurley Brown says, that "men are nice to look at.[8]

People have been critical of Cosmopolitan and, as Karen Fisher wrote in her October 11, 1971 Nation article entitled, "Cashing In On Fear & Fantasy:"

> Helen Gurley Brown is to be admired for trail-blazing the declaration that sex is of interest to women, but we must concede that she is cashing in on our fantasies in the same way as do the less "sophisticated" ladies magazines. The glamorous career girl is as much a myth as the perfect homemaker.

The girl portrayed in Cosmopolitan, "that Cosmo girl," is "sexy and pretty but not resting on those attributes to get through life" according to Brown.[9] But she has also said of women:

> ...I think women are just the same as they ever were on the inside. I think we are extremely emotional, hysterical, vulnerable, adorable creatures like we were 30, 60, 100, 2,000 years ago, and our emotions simply don't change. We have never gotten the better of them and they still rule us. I believe women are more interested in men and love than anything else in the world and it hasn't changed a single bit.[10]

But according to Fisher it is no wonder that women still hold to these notions. She wrote:

> We are guilty of choosing for ourselves magazines that reflect our own romantic expectations. As a result we have

> covertly established between the familiar face of Sophia Loren and the blonde hair of Breck a little something for everyone endorsed by someone--ambiguous and useless pap.

One can argue with the Cosmopolitan philosophy but not with its success. It has the highest circulation at 1,881,835 of any of the four magazines and also makes 93 per cent of its sales on the newsstands. Glamour, Mademoiselle, and Ms. sell 40-50 per cent on the newsstand.[11]

Advertising

Glamour was among the top ten magazines in advertising pages in 1973 (1,640.76) with $15,649,501 in revenue. Cosmopolitan followed with 1,511.26 pages with a higher revenue of $16,276, 771. Mademoiselle had 1,493.81 pages of advertising in 1973 for a revenue of $9,629,447.

Glamour's top five advertisers were toiletries ($7,991,998), apparel (2,789,515), consumer services such as books, music, and magazine and newspaper subscription offers ($862,194), jewelry ($545,481) and household furnishings ($431,364).

Cosmopolitan also had toiletries at the top of their advertising list, but liquor, beer and wine were a substantial third place after apparel (toiletries $7,278,055, apparel $1,769,484, liquor $1,545,093). Neither Glamour nor Mademoiselle came close to Cosmopolitan's figures in this area. Smoking materials and jewelry were Cosmopolitan's next high areas of ad revenue.

Mademoiselle had $4,760,844 in toiletries, followed by $1,765,761 for apparel, $342,004 consumer services, $231,440 smoking materials and $209,977 for travel. Glamour and Mademoiselle topped Cosmopolitan quite extensively in travel advertising (Glamour $293,687, Mademoiselle $209,977 and Cosmopolitan $91,053).

Ms. magazine was not listed in the Publishers Information Bureau reports.

In the first nine months of 1974 a "falling off" was noted in PIB for fashion advertising. Glamour was down 9 per cent in fashion ad pages from 1973; Mademoiselle was off 15 per cent in the same category. However, the difference in dollars was down only 3 per cent and 2 per cent for the magazines respectively. Murphy of Glamour explained it this way: "There is a diffusion of fashion today. The youth market has gotten away from the old established idea of fashion. Also newspaper cooperative advertising is affecting our actual number of fashion ad pages."

Ad Rates

A full-page black and white ad in Cosmopolitan costs $9,680, followed by $7,800 in Glamour, $5,400 in Mademoiselle and $4,500 in Ms. Four-color process brings the prices per page to $12,980, $11,300, $7,900 and $5,880 for the magazines respectively.[12]

Demographic Profile

The median age of a Cosmopolitan reader, according to a 1973 Simmons study, is 30.6. The Glamour reader's median age is 26.9, and Mademoiselle's readers average out to 26.1 years of age according to Simmons. Ms.is geared to women of varying age and has no set age market as do the other three magazines. However, a TGI survey found that 58.6 per cent of Ms. readers fall in the 18-34 age group.

Cosmopolitan readers have more education that readers of Glamour or Mademoiselle, but not more than Ms. readers. The break-down of those readers having attended or graduated from college follows:

Ms.	73.9 (based on TGI report 1974)
Cosmo	44.5 (Simmons 1973)
Mlle.	42.1 " "
Glamour	35.8 " "

The Ms. reader also has a higher household income than do readers of the other magazines, according to TGI. Figures below show the percentage of households earning $10,000 or more a year:

Ms.	73.6
Cosmo	69.5
Mlle.	70.6
Glamour	68.3

Summary

Where are women headed? Will it really be another century before they reach the "dawn of The Age of Equality" as Clare Boothe Luce maintains? She wrote in an August 24, 1974 Saturday Review World article entitled, "The 21st Century Woman--Free at Last?":

> Why did an intelligent and sensitive editor tell me recently that he foresaw 'a tidal wave of feminism rising in the land, which if taken at the flood would lead women on to fame and fortune?' I suspect that he, like so many other men of goodwill and large mind, is exaggerating the importance of break-throughs for the female sex that have more or less recently occurred.

Or is Ms. magazine more visionary, believing in a quarter century we can expect true equality? They maintain that a pass-along circulation of 2 million, 40 per cent of which are men is a sign of hope and that the message of equality is being spread.

If the magazine is a clarifier of events, a forum, a shaper of opinion, then women need it now more than ever. These are such exciting times for them, yet turbulent and constantly changing times as well. Healthy, positive attitudes need to be developed. Not a continuance of past put-downs as exemplified in a November 1963 column in Mademoiselle. It read:

> Not knowing how to say, no, not having the sense to, or the nerve to, destroys more promising young American ladies than any other inherent female flaw (and there are

> others). The reasons are kind of sad--loneliness, unhappiness, boredom. We are all bored, more or less.

In a 1960 Glamour article entitled, "Twenty Questions Women Won't Ask Their Doctors," a woman asks: "Occasionally in the morning, someone will ask me a question and it takes me a full half minute to respond. It's as if my brain were temporarily asleep. Can this be?"

One wonders if this can be applied to womanhood as a whole. Many have been asleep, only it has taken years, not half minutes to respond.

The career-oriented magazines are saying "wake-up." They only differ in their tone of voice. Cosmopolitan is soft and sexy; Glamour more "How To Wake Up," reporting the facts, not making them happen. Mademoiselle says it intelligently and a little ahead of the alarm clock. Ms. is the shocker: it pulls the covers off and you have no time to linger.

Notes

[1] "Women in the Workplace," Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 1974. Other facts based on U.S. Department of Social and Economic Statistics Administration, 1970 census.

[2] Betsy Talbot Blackwell was editor from 1935 until her retirement in 1971. Edith Raymond Locke, who had been with Mademoiselle since 1948 took over at that time. From "A Short History of Mademoiselle."

[3] According to western advertising manager Richard Sheehan Jr. of Mademoiselle. 23 per cent of Glamour readers are attending college or graduate school according to a Glamour research report released July 1973.

[4] Audit Bureau of Circulation, Magazine Published Statements for Glamour and Mademoiselle for six months ending June 30, 1974.

[5] Ms. offers a one-year subscription for $10. Prior to Christmas 1974, it published a "first gift $10 a year, each additional gift $8 a year" offer. Subscription rates represent modest savings for subscribers. Of interest also, is that Ms. had a 76 per cent renewal rate after its first year according to Thomas, Midwest representative.

[6] Included in this response was "up front" money, as Thomas calls it. People sent in money for their subscriptions in some cases, giving needed financial support.

[7] Cosmopolitan leaves these subjects to "more serious general magazines" says Writer's Market '74. It goes on to say that "logical, interesting, authoritive writing is a must as is a feminist consciousness."

[8] The first male centerfold appeared in April 1972 of Reynolds. In February 1974 Cosmopolitan ran two nudes, Davidson and Brown. Helen Gurley Brown has said: "Doing a centerfold is expensive, but never mind...we are quietly thinking about our next victim--I mean subject. If there is a man you'd particularily like to see nude..."

[9] "Step Into My Parlor," Cosmopolitan, October 1974.

[10] From a February 4, 1969 seminar sponsored by the American Society of Magazine Editors.

[11] According to Audit Bureau of Circulation Magazine Publisher's Statement for Cosmopolitan for six months ending June 30, 1974, Cosmopolitan sells 1,755,063 issues on the single copy sales basis and has 126,772 subscription sales. Newsstand sales are 93 per cent. Mademoiselle sells 51 per cent on the single copy basis compared to Glamour's 39 per cent. Ms. sells 42 per cent of its issues on the newsstand.

[12] Standard Rate and Data Service, Index of Farm and Consumer Magazines, October 1974.

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Journals of Opinion: Focus on the National Review and The New Republic

Lillian Swanson

Journals of opinion enjoy a unique status among publications which report on public affairs; the journals do not pretend to be unbiased. Even the name--a journal of opinion--suggests that the reader is getting a subjective view of events.

This broad category, which includes such well-known periodicals as the National Review, Nation, Commentary, Commonweal and The New Republic, is marked by distinguishing characteristics. Journals of opinion generally deal with public affairs in a broad sense. Politics, education, economics and the review of the arts fall within the purview of these magazines.

These journals must be published frequently, usually weekly or fortnightly, in order to keep up with events. Journals of opinion report the news, analyze aspects of the event, and offer specific suggestions for improvement or solutions to problems. All this commentary is hinged to a well-defined political viewpoint. The tone of these journals is usually serious and intense because the authors are interpreting events in terms of strongly held political convictions.

This paper is an in-depth study of The New Republic and the National Review, both as the magazines are today and how they developed. These two journals of opinion were chosen because they traditionally have been the benchmarks of popular political thought. National Review presents a conservative view of the day's news and The New Republic generally takes a liberal stance.

Both magazines are well established in the magazine field and believe that they fill a need in American public affairs.

Henry Ladd Smith, an editor of The New Republic wrote at the time of the magazine's 40th anniversary in 1954:

> But what medium is to present the ideas we depend upon to keep our brand of democracy dynamic? Not radio or TV, it is safe to say. Nor the movies, still in a Laocoon struggle with censors, pressure groups and inquisitors. Ideas that might upset the equilibrium of the monopoly newspaper public are acceptable only to a few editors. Most of the newspapers are incapable of providing the subtleties of conflicting thought, unrestricted by their own "policy." Most magazines have discovered that unless they keep the reader and the advertiser pleasantly related, they soon become the victims of the competition that puts the lowest value on ideas.
>
> The journals of opinion are about the last ditch for the individualist, and for the editor with a message. With such publications, the fight for the presentation of ideas is much more than academic. It is the issue of survival that concerns the liberal today.

Bruce Bliven, formerly The New Republic's editorial director, described the magazine's purpose this way: "A paper like The New Republic is badly needed if only to be the egghead's committee of correspondence."

In the first issue of National Review, Editor/Publisher William F. Buckley Jr. was characteristically wry and dramatic in his description of the need for his new magazine.

> Our political economy and our high energy industry run on large, general principles, on ideas---not by day-to-day guesswork, expedients and improvisions. Ideas have to go into exchange to become or remain operative; and the medium of exchange is the printed word. A vigorous, incorruptible journal of conservative opinion is--dare we say it--as necessary to better living as Chemistry.

A brief history and thumbnail sketch of these two magazines should put the analysis that follows into a better perspective.

The editors of The New Republic opened its offices in New York City the day World War I broke out. The first issue was published Nov. 7, 1914, with the following coverlines: "A Journal of Opinion Which Seeks to Meet the Challenge of a New Time."

The New Republic was published weekly by an editorial board of six men, including Walter Lippmann. According to Bliven, it was Herbert Croly who took charge from the beginning. "There was never any doubt, during his lifetime, that Croly was 'first among equals' on the editorial board. He wrote the leading editorial and it was essentially his judgment and not a collective one," Bliven said.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote in the introduction to The Faces of Five Decades that "the new magazine was particularly the voice of Eastern establishment metropolitan progressivism. It was intellectual, stylish, urbane..."

In the early 1920's, The New Republic increased its proportion of space devoted to cultural subjects. By the 1930's, none of the original editorial board was left. According to Bliven, when the Depression struck, The New Republic's circulation "stayed the same or even rose."

In 1950, The New Republic moved its primary editorial offices to Washington, D.C. and later moved its advertising offices there, too.

For The New Republic's 50th anniversary in 1964, Lippmann wrote of the hopes of the original editors. It was to be

> A journal of unopinionated opinion---one that would be informed, disinterested, compassionate and brave.
>
> The paper was meant to be what it now is---the organ of no party, of no faction, of no sect and of no cause, concerned not with liberalism and progressivism and conservatism as ideologies, but with all of them in the perspective of civility in our Western society.

Professor Robert Gentry agreed that this was The New Republic's great strength over the years. He wrote in his book, Liberalism and The New Republic, "...the habit of viewing issues and events in light of their own merits rather than a doctrinaire, doggedly consistent manner" was an essential part of The New Republic's success.

Today, The New Republic is still concerned with domestic and foreign affairs and reviewing the arts. The journal is published weekly except three times during the summer.

The National Review is much younger than The New Republic but has firmly carved out its spot in the magazine business. National Review was founded in New York as a weekly and its first issue was dated Nov. 19, 1955. Speaking at a seminar on "Running on Ideological Magazine" sponsored by the American Society of Magazine Editors, in 1969, Buckley said

> The National Review was founded...because The Freeman had collapsed. The Freeman had been set up in 1950 under the triple editorship of Henry Hazard, John Chamberlain and Susan LaFollette. And Willy Schlamm, formerly of Time, had also figured in this operation during 1951.
>
> It collapsed as a result of quarrels, partly ideological and partly journalistic.
>
> It was Willy Schlamm who turned to me and suggested that I should be the editor of a new journal of conservative opinion. I thought it then highly presumptuous. I was then 27 years old.

In May 1956, National Review faced a major financial crisis. The weekly magazine had to cut its pages from 32 to 24 and cut the staff. William Rusher was hired as publisher in 1957, and took over the duties relinquished by Editor/Publisher Buckley.

In September 1958, the magazine faced a second major financial crisis and decided to publish National Review fortnightly. The regular magazine would be published on the odd weeks and the National Review Bulletin would be published on the even weeks. Although National Review's circulation is five times greater than it was in 1958 (19,080), this publishing plan is still in effect.

Contents

The types of coverage and general format of these two journals of opinion are similar. Both contain editorials, signed columns that appear regularly, featured articles, political cartoons and extensive book review sections in the back of the magazine. But this is where the similarity ends. When the coverage and analysis of events are examined, the magazines prove to be quite different.

To show that the interpretation of events differs widely, National Review's and The New Republic's handling of three important national events will be compared. The events, the Carswell nomination in January 1970, the Attica prison riot in September 1972, and the siege of Wounded Knee in February 1973, were chosen randomly. (It should be noted that only the analysis of the event and not subsequent related events, like court trials and hearings, were studied.)

In all three cases, The New York Times Index was used to chronicle the dates on which the event occurred. Newsweek was monitored to determine how a newsmagazine reported the facts of the event. Finally, the analysis that appeared in the two journals of opinion were studied.

Carswell Nomination News Summary:

Jan. 20, 1970--President Nixon nominated G. Harrold Carswell, a federal

judge from Tallahassee, Fla., to the Supreme Court.
Jan. 22--Carswell's "white supremacy" statement made in a state race 22 years before is reported in news.
Feb. 13--Florida records show that Carswell and his wife sold a lot in Ochlocknee River subdivision in 1966 with covenant restricting use of land to "members of the Caucasian race."
Feb. 17--The Senate Judiciary Committee approved Carswell's nomination.
April 9--Senate rejects the Carswell nomination by a close, 51-45, vote.

Newsweek's coverage of the nomination began on Feb. 9 and included seven subsequent articles in the "National Affairs" section of the magazine. The magazine published arguments for and against Carswell, generally centering on charges of *racism* and *mediocrity*.

The magazine reported at first that the nomination would probably be approved by the Senate.

On the charges of racism, *Newsweek* reported, "In regards to the 'white supremacy statement,' Carswell testified that he was now 'aghast I had made such a statement.'" (2/9/70)

"What had changed Carswell's mind?" *Newsweek* reported, 'The course of 22 years of history, Carswell said. There have been vast changes, not only in my thinking, but in the country and the South particularly.'" (2/9/70)

In a sidebar, *Newsweek* discussed, "his now notorious statement espousing segregation (which was then the law of the land) and 'white supremacy' (which was then the law of Georgia).

On the charges of mediocrity as a judge, *Newsweek* said this, "The attack on Carswell has broadened to take in not only his indiscretion on legal matters, but also what many see as his general mediocrity," (3/16/70). Later, the magazine printed a political cartoon that depicted Carswell sitting at a desk and talking on the phone. The caption read, "--And I'll Be Waiting Here In My Legal Library--Mr. President." The cartoon showed one book on the shelf behind a Jefferson Davis portrait on the wall and a Dixie flag. (3/30/70)

In subsequent issues, *Newsweek* referred to Carswell as the "lackluster judge from Tallahassee" (4/6/70) and called him the "Floridan of slender distinction." (4/20/74)

In *Newsweek*'s final article on the nomination, a cover story, it summed up the reasons for his defeat. *Newsweek* reported, "The result no doubt conceded some ill feelings toward Southerners or judicial conservatives, just as Mr. Nixon suggested in the aftermath...

"Carswell's doom was sealed by the widespread notion that he has been a mediocre judge." (4/20/74)

National Review's coverage of the event didn't start until March 10 and then treated the situation lightly. *National Review* later defended Carswell and his ideological stance.

In its first article on the nomination, *National Review* wrote, in an unsigned editorial,

> Hubert Horatio Humphrey, from 1947-64, lived in a house that, according to its deed, mustn't be "sold, leased or occupied by any person of the Negro blood..."
>
> We can all breathe easy--if Judge Carswell isn't confirmed,

Nixon won't nominate Humphrey.

In its next issue, National Review continued with the light approach with this "wire story,"

> Washington, July 19, 1972 (AP)--President Nixon today nominated Cletus Gaptooth of Shotgun, Miss., to the Supreme Court, to fill the seat vacated by Abe Fortas.
>
> The President said he felt sure Mr. Gaptooth would be confirmed by the Senate, despite its rejection of nine earlier appointees. (3/27/70)

In the third item on the Carswell nomination, when opposition had mounted considerably, National Review wrote its first serious defense of the judge.

In an unsigned editorial entitled "Dere Go De Judge," National Review gave its interpretation of his defeat.

> The arguments put forth by Judge Harrold Carswell's opponents were transparent nonsense. Incompetence? Mediocrity? Why the Senate had approved of Carswell for three successive judicial appointments and without so much as a murmur of criticism.
>
> The case against Carswell had no more substance than the phony charges of impropriety against Judge Clement Haynsworth.
>
> The issues in both cases were ideological and for the liberals, it was a gut issue.
>
> President Nixon has his mandate. Let him send another conservative nomination to the Senate. And another, until it chokes on them. (4/21/70)

Buckley's regular column, "On The Right," which was written before the vote, continued to defend the judge and his qualification for the Supreme Court. This column appeared in the back of the March 21 issue.

The New Republic pounced upon the charges of mediocrity against Judge Carswell in its first article, Jan. 31, on the subject. The journal ran a total of nine editorials, commentaries and news items on the nomination. National Review's coverage was less, with only four articles.

In regards to mediocrity, The New Republic reported

> It was not so much what they said about Haynsworth that counted so much against him in our book, but that there was so little to be said for him. And this is even more true of Carswell. He has been on the appellate bench for only seven months. He did not have a bad record; he had no record. (1/31/70)

The magazine's view of the racism charges changed during the period Carswell was being considered for the Court. At first, The New Republic noted that the "white supremacy statement" wasn't recent. The New Republic said, in an unsigned editorial, "The Southerner Mr. Nixon has chosen, it should be said, has not expressed segregationist convictions as a judge..." (1/31/70)

But later, another view was printed in The New Republic. The regular columnist, TRB wrote, "Judge Carswell is attached as much to racism as cipherism." (2/7/70) In an editorial in a later issue, The New Republic said, "...neither racism, nor unrebutted appearance of racism, belongs on the Supreme Court. That is the record, and on it, Harrold Carswell should not be confirmed." (2/28/70)

When Carswell was defeated, The New Republic commented on President Nixon's rage:

> "Both are fine judges, and were rejected, the President asserted, because they are Southerners. This was a wild and malicious misinterpretation of what the Senate did or showed any intention of doing... (4/25/70)

In summary, The New Republic and National Review analyzed the same event and developed different interpretations based on their different ideological views. National Review found Carswell qualified for the Court and said his opponents were actually finding fault with the judge's conservative beliefs. The New Republic found the judge unqualified both for his alledged racist views and his record as a federal judge.

Attica Prison Riot News Summary:
Sept. 10, 1972--About 1,000 inmates take 32 guards hostage at the Attica prison; inmates' demands are reported in the press.
Sept. 13--------New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller rejects the inmates' demands, including blanket amnesty for all involved in the riot; he decides not to go to Attica to personally negotiate with the inmates.
Sept. 14--------State police, local police and guards storm the prison and kill 42 people inside.

Newsweek's first article appeared in the Sept. 20 issue and was written before the prison riot had ended. Its second article was the cover story which tried to give a perspective on the riot from many points of view. (9/27/72)

In the cover story, Newsweek called Attica "a cockpit of hatred and frustration."

The magazine included a sidebar on New York Times Associate Editor Tom Wicker's involvement in negotiations with the prisoners. According to Newsweek, Wicker said, "I had an enormous feeling of genuine sympathy with the prisoners. At that moment in time they so nearly represented to me humanity crying for help."

Newsweek reported that militancy among prisoners at Attica and elsewhere was on the rise. The magazine reported, "...inmates are picking up a tough, new political perspective and a desperate, sometimes suicidal, determination to shake up the antiquated and oftentimes inhumane penal system."

Another aspect of the riot that Newsweek addressed was the authorities' handling of the situation. The magazine offered arguments that supported and those that denounced the way the riot was handled. Newsweek said, "It left many Americans with the painful conviction, that as one observer put it 'There must have been a better way.'" The magazine later said, "Wardens in other states generally backed up (Prison Commissioner) Oswald."

Newsweek included arguments for and against Rockefeller's decision not to go to Attica to negotiate with the inmates. The magazine said, "James Vorenberg, head of Harvard's Center for the Advancement of Criminal Justice, said 'It wouldn't have cost him anything except face, which is what so many of these situations involve.'"

The magazine also printed Rockefeller's statement: "Perhaps, they next might say 'We won't negotiate with anyone but the President' and I think we get into an intolerable situation."

Newsweek reported the prisoners' demands in detail in the story, but it made no comment about their validity.

National Review's analysis of the Attica revolt was extensive, too. The journal printed at least eight articles or editorials on the event. In its analysis, National Review discussed the prisoners' backgrounds, Rockefeller's decision, the prisoners' militancy and Wicker's coverage of the riot. National Review only lightly touched on the prisoners' demands.

In its first article on the riot, National Review write in an editorial, "...but last year, Sam Melville (a riot leader) was convicted of multiple urban kidnappings and was killed at Attica with four homemade bombs in his possession."

A later article, written by a man who was an inmate at Attica at the time of the revolt, but did not participate, also denounced the men who started the riot. The author, Frederick Wiggins, said, "I'd rather go along with things as they were and have the 43 dead people alive, but I guess L.D., Herbit and those guys thought it was worth it." Wiggins wrote later in the article, "...they were, at the least, damn fools, and, in my opinion, many of them were monsters." (3/31/72)

Buckley wrote in his column that he supported Rockefeller's decision not to go to Attica. (10/8/72) Another article on Attica in the same issue said, "Who knows if Rockefeller should have turned up?"

National Review printed an excerpt from Wicker's column in the New York Times, but didn't add any comment. Wicker's article, which was sympathetic to the prisoners who rioted, was entitled "Footnote: The Wicker Watch" in the National Review. (10/8/72)

In an editorial entitled, "Exploiting Attica," National Review wrote "...to Tom Wicker, Attica was like Chicago in '68, like Kent State, like My Lai, like the handling of campus rebellions."

Wicker's hymns of rage were relentless, his metaphorical exploitation of Attica ecstatic." (10/8/72)

On the militancy among prisoners, Buckley wrote, "It was a surprise to everyone how ideological the prisoners were. They all sounded as though they had been schooled by the Weathermen." (10/8/70)

A later article said, "The underground press and the New Left press are full of stories of a new radical constituency, 'the prison population.' But crushing the revolt at Attica could mean that "Convict Chic" may be finished for the time being." (10/22/72)

The New Republic only ran one editorial on Attica and then printed a four-part series on prison reform. The journal did not defend the riot, but did have sympathy for some of the prisoners' demands. The New Republic did not discuss the prisoners' militancy, their backgrounds, Wicker's coverage, nor Rockefeller's decision not to personally negotiate.

The editorial did support Rockefeller's decision not to offer blanket amnesty to the rioters.

The New Republic wrote this in the editorial:

> Gov. Rockefeller holds the opinion that he had no Constitutional authority to grant amnesty, and that if he had, he would not have used it. On the whole, we think the governor's position on this matter is sensible and for this reason, if you grant blanket amnesty you are saying that prison riots--whatever injury they inflict--cost nothing to those responsible. No prison can be run on that theory... (9/25/72)

In its next issue, *The New Republic* responded to an angry letter it had received for its stand on Attica. *The New Republic* replied: "We submitted no brief in defense of how this riot was handled, we have none now.

"However just some demands for prison reform are, violent revolt cannot be accepted as a method for obtaining it..." (10/23/72)

During April, *The New Republic* printed the series entitled "The Paradox of Prison Reform" which was probably prompted by the Attica riot.

Although *The New Republic*'s coverage of the riot was less extensive than *National Review*'s, it handled the analysis differently. *National Review* reported and analyzed the riot, while *The New Republic* discussed the need for prison reform in a broad sense.

Wounded Knee News Summary:

Feb. 28, 1973--About 200 Indians hold 10 persons hostage in Wounded Knee, S.D. on an Oglala Sioux reservation. Negotiations with Federal agents begin.
April 5--------An agreement between the Indians and the Federal agents to end occupation falls through.
April 25-------F. Clearwater, critically wounded in gunfire with agents eight days earlier, dies.
May 6----------Indians and Federal agents announce an end to 68 days of occupation of Wounded Knee.

Newsweek's coverage began on March 12 or two weeks after the occupation of the reservation. Over the nine-week period, *Newsweek* published five articles, including a cover story, on the siege at Wounded Knee. The magazine's coverage discussed the *Indian's grievances*, their maneuvering for *publicity*. In its beginning reports, *Newsweek* wrote, "Like any media maneuver, it demanded a climax..." (3/12/73) and "...the action partook of a 1960's rerun..." (3/19/73). *Newsweek* reported, "A network cameraman had to slaughter and skin a cow for the Indians who had forgotten how." (3/26/73)

With its second article, *Newsweek* took notice of the Indians' grievances. The magazine said, "Behind the type, something serious was going on." The article later said, "If the showdown at Wounded Knee resembled guerrilla theater more than guerrilla warfare, the bitter grievances behind it were real enough." *Newsweek* described the Indians' conditions on the reservation: "Less than 20 per cent of the (Oglala) tribe finished high school, only 46 per cent have jobs, and alcoholism is an infestation." (3/19/73)

At the end of the siege, Newsweek reported, "It was a whimperish end to a confrontation that began with high hopes and higher drama." (5/21/73)

The magazine also described the condition of the reservation in the aftermath and questioned what had been accomplished. The siege ended, Newsweek reported, "...leaving a shattered and vandalized village, two Indians dead, and one FBI agent paralyzed, and a pervasive inconclusiveness about what had been accomplished." (5/21/73)

National Review first reported the siege in its March 30 issue and attacked the federal government for negotiating with the American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders who led the siege. In an editorial, National Review wrote: "The government is 'negotiating' as if the toughs from AIM really represented something or someone."

The magazine offered its ideas about the impact of the occupation on other aspects of American life. National Review wrote in a second article,

> ....the already rising demand for Indian jewelry and artifacts in the world of fashion soared to boom level.

The AIM leaders would have ample speaking engagements. The siege was

> ....a welcome shot in the arm for the campus lecture circuit. Both Black Panthers and the Chicago 7 are a bit passé...Lesbians and astrologers have not been drawing.

But then the magazine brought the point home: "It is time for the U.S. Government to end the clowning, on both sides, and establish control over the 'occupied' territory of Wounded Knee." (3/30/73)

In an article entitled "Pain in the Knee," National Review continued to urge action on the part of the government.

> Francis Randall, a nonmilitant whose home is threatened, says he and dozens of his unchic friends will move in and oust the militants May 6 unless the government acts. "I'm old and I'm hungry," he told reporters, "and I want to go home." (We thought such eloquence died with Sitting Bull.) (5/21/73)

National Review printed a full length article on Wounded Knee written by Victor Gold, a former Agnew and Goldwater press aide. Gold's thesis was that the siege was staged for and aided by the media. He called the siege, "The first Indian war mastermined by Marshall McLuhan."

He continued with his belief that Wounded Knee was a media maneuver:

> Yet on Feb. 27, 1973, ...CBS Chicago correspondent Jeff Williams just happened to be in the Wounded Knee neighborhood...

Later Gold wrote:

> The P.R. pros, given a dull day could always count on the

> usual gang of protest pilgrims, e.g. Kuntsler, Abernathy, Davis, Fonda, Brando, the National Council of Churches.

And something for the Justice Department, too:

> ...credit certainly to the American electronic news media, but thanks most of all to those wonderful law-and-order folks at the Justice Department for making this show possible. (4/7/73)

The New Republic chose to discuss the Indians' grievances and the causes of the rebellion. The magazine, although a weekly, did not discuss Wounded Knee until its April 7 issue. In discussing the condition of the tribe, The New Republic was sympathetic:

> And so we come to Wounded Knee and the bitterness between brothers of the once proud Oglala Sioux nation, driven from its ancestral home in the Black Hills and consigned to the wretched poverty of the bleak and windswept prairies that extend from the Badlands of South Dakota. (4/7/73)

The New Republic described the causes of the rebellion:

> The tribe has long been faction-ridden. It has never re-elected a tribal chairman for a second 2-year term since its tribal organization was set up under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. And today, the controversy between the tribal chairman, Richard Wilson, and the leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM), lays bare a growing schism in the Indian community all across the country. (4/7/73)

The New Republic urged the government to stay out of the intratribal fight.

> The biggest mistake which could be made...would be for the white man to take it upon himself to choose sides in the intratribal conflicts such as Wounded Knee.
>
> The key is a combination of Indian self-determination backed up by a firm commitment by the federal government to protect Indians from exploitation of their natural resources and generous funding of their attempts at self-help. (4/7/73)

The New Republic printed a second article in its next issue which outlined the illegal arrests of 50 people traveling to Wounded Knee to assist the occupying Indians.

In summary, The New Republic gave Wounded Knee only slight coverage as compared to National Review. Unlike National Review, The New Republic doesn't mention maneuvering by the Indians for publicity, nor urge the government to end the occupation. The New Republic suggested that the government stay out of the conflict among tribal factions and simply assist the Indians in their attempts at helping themselves.

The three examples just presented show that the two journals are "seeing" the same event quite differently. They are analyzing the same event, but each is doing so in light of its own particular ideology.

Contents, Tone, Design and Ownership

The contents of the two journals are traditional in that so many of the same writers and column titles appear regularly and stay year after year. The first issue of National Review, for example, contains four regular columns or departments with the same titles as today's National Review. A fifth title, "From Washington Straight" has been modified slightly to "Letter From Washington." Another department "For the Record" was begun Aug. 1, 1956, and continues today. National Review has shifted from its explicit anti-communist stance to a more implicit stance. National Review dropped its department "On the Left" which regularly attacked the Communists.

The New Republic has held on to its favorite departments, too. TRB, who is reported to be the Christian Science Monitor's Richard Strout, was begun in the 1930's and continues today, although different people have been TRB. During the Nixon Administration, John Osborne's column was entitled "The Nixon Watch" and it is presently entitled "White House Watch."

In a sense, even the magazines' "enemies" remain fairly constant. The New York Times was a favorite target for National Review in 1955 and continues to get the darts today.

Both magazines have a serious tone, although National Review seems less intense in presenting its arguments. John Chamberlain, a former contributing staffer, wrote in his introduction to the National Review Reader, "...the truly distinguishing thing about National Review is the gaiety with which they accept their mission of confounding the liberals and making all things 'debatable again.'"

Many times National Review's headlines are in the same light vein. The headlines tend to tease rather than explain. Some examples are found in recent issues, "Slouching Towards Bethlehem?" "Our Peripatetic State Department" (both 11/22/74) and "The Cuban Connection." (9/27/74)

The New Republic seems to find less delight in finding flaws in the conservatives' arguments. The magazine's articles seem less spirited and more straightforward.

Of course, it is the men who edit and own the two journals of opinion who set the tone of the magazines. National Review has had only one owner--Editor Buckley, who owns 100 per cent of the magazine's stock.

After six decades of publishing, The New Republic has only had three owners. The present editor, Gilbert Harrison, bought the magazine in 1953, from the heirs of the Willard Straights, The New Republic's original financial backers.

In March, Martin Peretz, a Harvard social scientist, bought The New Republic from Harrison for $380,000 (plus a larger amount pending taxes), according to Time magazine. Peretz is listed on the masthead as chairman of the editorial board. Harrison is to stay on as editor for at least three years.

According to Time, Peretz "thinks that The New Republic must toughen its liberalism with more aggressive, sharply-argued opinions now being exploited by the conservatives."

Although Peretz said in March that "there are no plans for alternating the format...of the magazine," these changes have begun. With the 60th anniversasy issue, *The New Republic* changed its paper stock from newsprint to a coated paper. More photographs are being used on the pages and color advertising is found inside the magazine.

Both *The New Republic* and *National Review* have been very slow in changing their magazines' basic layout and design. *The New Republic* has kept the same cover design since it was introduced Sept. 28, 1959. The logo is bookended between two black ink blocks. The issue's contents are listed below in a square, color block. Sometimes a coverline appears above the logo, too.

The New Republic's layout is two-column for the front of the book and three-column with ads for the back where the reviews are found.

Slightly serifed headlines generally vary only in size and not in family. Thin lines, boxes, sketches and cartoons are frequently used to break up the copy.

For the first 55 years, *The New Republic* had the subtitle "A Journal of Opinion." In 1969, this was changed to "A Journal of Politics and the Arts."

The magazine's design presents a serious, straightforward, earnest-reading, low-budgeted character. This may change as the new owner formulates the magazine's direction.

National Review is also tradition-bound in design, although it has come a long way towards a flashier magazine in the last seven years.

The magazine's subtitle began as "A Weekly Journal of Opinion" and was changed, along with the publishing cycle to "A Journal of Fact and Opinion." Presently *National Review* has dropped this form of subtitle.

The magazine's design in its first 10 years was as conservative as its contents. A one-color cover and newsprint pages left the magazine looking like a moderately-priced, serious-reading periodical.

In 1967, *National Review* underwent a major design change. It changed to a more coated paper and more dramatic covers. Inside, the text was broken up more frequently with subheads and looked easier to read.

In 1970, on the magazine's 15th anniversary, Managing Editor Priscilla Buckley wrote,

> Advertising Manager John Frichard, came, saw, wept and went, but not before he enforced upon the assembly the idea that *National Review* should have its face lifted. It was done at a cost of blood and tears, and when the editors met at their next Agony (quarterly meeting of the publisher and senior editors), looked at what had been proposed, they Waxed and Wroth. As good traditionalists should.

In December 1972, the logo was changed to its present *NR* with *National Review* written below. The attractive, full color covers have continued.

National Review's layout is similar to *The New Republic*. *National Review* is designed with a two-column layout in the front and a three-column layout, generally, in the back of the book. The main difference between the layout of the two journals is that *National Review* intersperses its advertising throughout the book.

Advertising

Politics make strange bedfellows and so does advertising. The New Republic and National Review entered a joint advertising program at the end of the 1960's according to Port & Starboard, a newsletter published for the two magazines.

Emphasis on this arrangement has increased since the change of ownership at The New Republic. Presently the two magazines are offering a plan, symbolized as NR^2, where advertising may be purchased in combination at a 10 per cent discount for equivalent space with the contract year. The rates are $1,506.60 for a full page black and white ad and $2,894 for a full page four-color ad.

John Monahan, ad advertising representative for National Review in Chicago, said, "We have a limited potential for ads. It is difficult to get tobacco and cars. We just don't have the numbers."

Although total ad revenue for the two magazines are unavailable, an examination of the February 1974 issues shows the amount and type of advertisement being carried by the two journals of opinion.

In February, the advertisement/editorial ratio was 21:79 for The New Republic. Each issue averaged seven pages of ads in the 36 page issues. The New Republic's best customers are book clubs and publishers. In the Feb. 9 issue, seven out of 13 ads were in this category.

The New Republic frequently runs charity ads such as "The March of Dimes" and "The Heart Fund." Advertisements for other magazines, Psychology Today and Consumer Reports, are also found on its pages. Exxon and Bell Telephone were the only big industries to advertise in The New Republic during February.

The general approach of the ads is straightforward. The ads are not very decorative or dramatic.

National Review's advertisement/editorial ratio was 10 per cent higher than The New Republic's in February. The ratio was 31.69 for the month. About 36 pages of advertisement were run in 116 pages of the two issues.

Book publishers and clubs are also the best customers for National Review. Huge industries, such as Milliken Carpeting, Armstrong Flooring, Sun Line Ships, Exxon and Bell Telephone are also found on the magazine's pages.

The general approach is more dramatic than in The New Republic mainly because some of the larger industries have bought full color ads.

Circulation

In an article in Society in 1972, Robert J. Myers, publisher of The New Republic wrote

> There is a world of difference between large and small magazine publishing. The major source of revenue for small publications is circulation, say from 70 per cent or more from subscriptions and 30 per cent for less from advertising; the reverse is generally true for large publications.

Buckley said at the editorial seminar sponsored by the American Society of Magazine Publishers in 1969:

> We plow through a million and a half dollars a year and we get about a million, one hundred thousand from subscriptions, a hundred and fifty thousand from advertising and the balance in contributions.

The present circulation figures for the two journals of opinion are as follows:

	TNR	NR
Subscriptions	87,822	100,882
Single Copy Sales	2,027	5,803
Total	89,849	106,685

Subscription prices: The New Republic-$17/year, National Review-$15/year.
Single Copy: both 50¢ each.

Between 1970 and 1974, National Review's circulation has decreased from 111,427 to 106,685, a total loss of 4,742 readers.

The New Republic has experienced an even sharper decline in circulation. In 1970, circulation was 140,047 and in 1974 it was 89,849, a total loss of 59,198 readers over the four-year period.

The magazines' circulation for the last four years is as follows:

	TNR	NR
1970	140,047	111,427
1971	143,402	115,768
1972	128,778	117,529
1973	97,579	106,559
1974	89,849	106,685

(Figures courtesy of the Audit Bureau of Circulations, Chicago, Ill.)

Readership

Loyalty to the magazines is a characteristic of the readers of both these magazines. According to John Schacht, in his booklet, "Journals of Opinion and Reportage: An Assessment":

> Priscilla Buckley of the National Review told of how the readers deal with the magazine as with a personal friend, seeking information about housing, theater tickets, and so on. Nor do readers hesitate to react angrily when "their own magazine" offends them: The New Republic was the recipient of many indignant letters from subscribers for its stand on Robert Kennedy's senatorial candidacy in 1964; National Review lost many subscriptions when it commented adversely on the Birch Society in 1961...

These two journals of opinion exert a strong influence on their readers. According to Schacht:

> Their critics call them (journals of opinion) predictable, but in a real sense their predictability is their strength. The reader of *National Review* trusts that whatever he is presented in his magazine will be untainted by soft-headed liberalism; *The New Republic* reader, that the national government will be urged to play...an effective role in whatever domestic or foreign changes need to be made.

Theodore Peterson, in his book, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, remarked that just why journals of opinion exert an influence beyond their circulation figures is a mystery.

Schacht suggests that journals of opinion are influential in American society, beyond the size of their circulations, mainly because of the exposure the magazines receive in the media. Journal articles are reported on in the newspapers, entered into the Congressional Record and are widely reprinted. Journal editors and staffers go before many audiences and argue their views. This also increases their magazine's exposure in the media.

Readership characteristics of *The New Republic* and *National Review* may provide yet another clue as to why these magazines are small yet influential. The results of a survey, "The Principal Readers of Selective Publications" by Don Bowdren & Associates, 1974, was reprinted in the *NR*[2] rate card. The readers of *The New Republic* and *National Review* have the following characteristics:

Education	90.8%
College Educated	74.3
Postgraduate Degrees	40.2
Occupation	
Professional/Managerial	51.0%
Top Management	12.0
Income	
Median	$22,560
$25,000+	42.3%
Civic Affairs	
Wrote to Government Official	68.6%
Addressed Public Meeting	45.6
Officer of Political, Professional Club	31.1
Books	
Average Number Purchased	24
Average Amount Spent	$117
Gender	
Male	77.2%

Age	
Median	43

These figures show that the readers of The New Republic and National Review generally are active in civic affairs, well-educated, have high incomes and are middle-aged men. These people are probably influential in their communities and may be spreading the influence of the two journals of opinion, too.

Summary

Journals of opinion are not the only magazines that carry articles that analyze important domestic and foreign affairs. Regional publications, like the Progressive published in Madison, Wisc., also carry political commentary. The "little magazines: such as the Partisan Review, Hudson Review, Yale Review and the Prairie Schooner also publish articles that are suitable for inclusion in journals of opinion. Some large consumer magazines such as Harper's, the New Yorker, New York and Saturday Review/World publish articles of opinion that analyze the day's events.

The journals of opinion, though, concentrate on this type of analysis and that is their strength. These journals have enjoyed long-standing success in the magazine business and should continue to prosper as long as thinking people seek answers to the day's problems.

THREE WOMEN'S MAGAZINES:
Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's and Good Housekeeping
Evelyn Schreiber

In August 1970, an article by Don McKinney, managing editor of McCall's, appeared in the Writer. The article attempted to explain McCall's concept of the women of the 70's:

"In simplest terms, what we are trying to do here is interest women. In times past, women have been interested in home and family and the accessories that went with it -- cooking, sewing, decorating, health, education, religion -- and not much else. At least if they were interested in other things, women's magazines didn't think they were, and were edited accordingly.

"These days, women are interested in almost everything. Women have been leaders in the fight to save our environment. Women have ... become passionately interested in politics, in all of the great social changes that are sweeping our nation.

"Women are changing, too ... Once a few women had the courage to shout out loud about their resentments against the Man's World they felt was suppressing them, thousands more rose up in agreement. And every woman, no matter how conservative, recognized the truth behind much of what the militants were saying. They strove for equality. Not sameness. Equalness.

"And so, what does this say about McCall's? It says that...women are aware of what is going on in the world and are deeply concerned about it; that the time for talking down to women -- particularly in their own magazines -- is long past...they want a magazine that recognizes that they know what's going on."[1]

Editorial Tone and Content

Women's service magazines have always centered around the women in relation to home and family, with life outside the home taking second place. This is perhaps less true today, at least in the case of McCall's, than it was in the period before Don McKinney's article appeared in the Writer.

The January 1970 issue of McCall's had as its theme, "the good life here on earth." An article entitled "Alone is Beautiful" featured full-page pictures of a galaxy of movie stars, telling how they spent their free time. Ordinary women were not questioned, but another article in the same issue did poll the views of 15 prominent women of letters.

The February 1970 issue of McCall's contained an article entitled "Teatime for the United Nations," which implied that delegates' wives function chiefly as party-givers, fashion and crafts devotees, and baby-sitters.

The status of women was a subject touched on by McCall's before August 1970, but the September 1970 issue was the first to give the subject feature treatment. That issue contained, the "White House Report on the Status of Women," plus an article entitled "Guerrilla Guide for Working Women: How to Succeed in Business." Writer Robert Townsend took a generally favorable attitude toward women in business, but in one section, he referred to Women's Liberationists as "the lunatic fringe."

More recently, attempts have been made, at least by *McCall's* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* to appeal to the "liberated woman," the woman whose interests span a wide horizon. Although inroads have begun to be made into a more modren approach, the magazines, especially in their "how-to" columns, do tend to identify women with traditionally "feminine" interests: needlepoint, sewing patterns, quicker methods of oven-cleaning, etc.

The "celebrity syndrome" is still an important part of these magazines and helps them to sell. Reader interest centers on such wealthy and famous women as Rose Kennedy, Jacqualine Onassis, and Mamie Eisenhower. Glamourous women such as Sophia Loren and Cher are also frequently found on the covers of these magazines.

There has always been discussion about male editors of women's magazines. When John Mack Carter was editor of the *Journal*, he was asked (in 1969) why neither of the two mass women's magazines (*McCall's* and the *Journal*) had had women editors for a decade at least. He replied, "Because men do the hiring, but also two reasons: One, on *Ladies' Home Journal*, because I won't give up the job. And on *McCall's*, I guess because there is a male editor there right now."[2] Carter went on to say that "a good editor I think can edit almost any magazine." The following year, *McCall's* got its first woman editor in almost 50 years -- Shana Alexander. The present editor is Robert Stein. In 1973 Lenore Hershey took over the editorship of the Journal, succeeding Carter.

Good Housekeeping, a publication of the Hearst Corporation, first appeared in 1885. "The Magazine America Lives By" is unabashedly directed at the middle-class housewife, and unlike the other two, remains primarily a magazine dedicated to *service*. The emphasis -- and greatest asset -- of *Good Housekeeping* is on consumer facts and practical advice for keeping home and family intact. Some of the material consists of findings of the Good Housekeeping Institute, where products are tested and consumer research done. The Institute reports monthly on beauty products, appliances and home care, food, needlework, and textiles. "The Better Way" gives further consumer advice, and other departments cover home building, decorating, diets and nutrition. Other regular features, in addition to patterns, fashions, and recipes, include "Keep Up With Medicine;" Dr. Joyce Brothers "On Being a Woman;" humor, and fiction -- usually a novelette and three short stories.

Good Housekeeping has remained a near-holdout against the women's lib trend. In *Good Housekeeping's* fiction, says editor Wade Nichols, "where a woman has to choose between a career or marriage to find true happiness, sometimes the career wins but often it's home and family."[3] One need only be reminded of the commercial success of the *Good Housekeeping* formula.

The *Ladies' Home Journal*, now a publication of Downe Communications, Inc., founded in 1883, is the second highest in circulation among the three magazines being studied. Its slogans are alternately, "The Magazine Women Believe In," and "Never Underestimate the Power of a Woman." This last has real potential. With *McCall's*, the Journal has been moving away from the service area in favor of greater public affairs coverage. However, the traditional service departments are still there. The magazine has a food, health and beauty, decorating, and patterns section. These traditional areas account for better than half of each month's editorial fare. An impressive list of contributing editors includes Bruno Bettleheim, Dr. Theodore I. Rubin, Amy Vanderbilt, Gene Shalit, Sylvia Porter, and Ralph Nader. Fiction usually consists of two romance-type stories, and sometimes a "book bonus."[4]

The Journal's goal is "to provide a balance of interests in women's lives," according to the publisher's editorial profile in Standard Rates and Data. "The distinctive aspect of the Journal's approach is its extensive use of the case history technique, as witness such monthly departments as "How America Lives" and "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" In the Journal, as in the other women's magazines, articles and ads are often directed at showing women how to keep their family life happy, with less emphasis on helping women achieve their independent goals.

"Some of the complaints made about our magazines by the women's lib types were right, conceded editor John Mack Carter in 1971. "There has been a lot of silliness cranked out to sell products and life-styles to women, but it will never happen in this magazine again. The Journal will not be guilty of any stereotyped formula or position concerning women."[5]

Carter was one of two editors singled out the year before by militant feminists (Helen Gurley Brown of Cosmopolitan was the other) who invaded his office to protest the Journal's "destructive image of women as a docile homemaker who should be content simply making her husband and children happy."[6] Ironically, the Journal had underestimated the power of women.

Carter granted the feminists an eight-page special section which appeared in the August 1970 issue of the Journal, "nestled between an exposé of Princess Margaret's 'rocky' marriage and a picture spread on midi fashions."[7] The supplement, which was prefaced by a disclaimer from Carter, contained some "acrimonious opinions" on marriage, sex and childbirth.

The feminists insisted on working with an all-female editorial committee from the Journal, which meant they had to deal almost exclusively with Lenore Hershey, then a managing editor, presently editor-in-chief. One of the feminists commented: "Lenore is a tough cookie and she fought management's side harder than any male editor would have."[8]

At the time, most of the staff, including Carter, did not expect the supplement to have much impact on the Journal. "I don't think our readers will identify with this so much as they will better understand what these women are talking about in their own terms,"[9] Carter said. Yet, it did make an impact, for within a few months, the women's magazines began publishing articles on abortion, day-care centers, and career women.

The women's liberation movement picked up support from editors. "A year ago the word 'women's lib,' didn't exist," said Shane Alexander, who became editor of McCall's in 1970. "Now I feel a general function of a women's magazine is to be not only a voice speaking to women but the voice of women speaking to women."[10]

There is a real fear among the women's magazines of moving too far in the direction of feminism -- fear of alienating their many readers who still regard home and family considerations as far outweighing the need to be "liberated." Patricia Carbine, when she was editorial director of McCall's in 1971-1972, explained the magazine's position: "Our magazine has an ongoing commitment to providing useful pieces that touch those areas of a woman's life that are uniquely hers. Women still run houses, worry about serving nutritious food, improving the home environment, keeping fit, dressing in an attractive way.[11]

McCall's, put out by the McCall Publishing Company, began as a pattern catalog in 1873. It still is noted for its fashion columns, but has branched out widely since then. Calling itself "The Magazine for Suburban Women," it has come closest of the three magazines to approaching a degree of feminism, though it remains a service magazine with a developing interest in public affairs. Shana Alexander gave the magazine a nudge in the feminist direction. Careers used to be treated as short-term objectives for women by McCall's and all the other women's books. Today women who pursue careers are regarded with greater respect.

McCall's features a monthly newsletter for women called "Right Now." This section is an unusual mixture of women's liberation news and human interest items. Patricia Carbine, speaking before a group of Northwestern University graduate students in the fall of 1974, called the "Right Now" section a "forerunner of the Ms. Gazette," an attempt at becoming "contemporary." However, Carbine cautioned against trying to turn around a magazine with a traditional readership. This would only confuse the readers, she said.

Each issue of McCall's features picture-and-text stories on food, beauty, decorating, health, fashions, home furnishings and needlework. Regular columns include Dr. William Nolen, Marilyn Bender, Maurice Woodruff.

Typical feature articles include investigative reports on subjects of interest to women, and interviews with personalities. Some fiction is also included, although Good Housekeeping and the Journal are usually heavier on fiction.

When Shana Alexander first became editor of McCall's, she said: "We talk to the whole woman. Not just to her GLANDS. Or her BRAIN. Or her FEARS. Or her SELF-IMAGE. But all of her. Not just to a particular age-group, like Redbook. Or to a special interest group, like Cosmopolitan. All of her. Our special interest group is -- women!...I think McCall's occupies an ideal position in the entire magazine field..."[12]

Audience Characteristics

At a 1969 seminar on "The Modern Woman Reader and How She's Changed," then Mademoiselle editor Betsy Talbot Blackwell expressed these views:

"The modern woman today is far more interested in a career than she was right after the war. Today's woman is a much more sophisticated, better-educated person. You cannot talk down to her.

"She has more know-how...she reads a greater variety of magazines. She is interested, because of her better education, in everything that goes on in the world, and she reads magazines from various points of view as a mother or a wife, a sociologist, a business woman.

"...She has a greater freedom of choice in planning her life.

"She can...be a bachelor mother. She may choose to be married but childless. Possibly because of more permissive husbands and children, she can pursue her career...

"Never has the woman had more money to spend, more money of her own, more control of how and where it is spent."[13]

Other participants in that seminar were Geraldine Rhoads, editor of Woman's Day, Helen Gurley Brown, editor of Cosmopolitan, and John Kack Carter, then-editor of the Ladies' Home Journal, and previously editor of McCall's.

Asked about the Journal audience, Carter said, "...our audience would be a bit harder to define than the other magazines represented here because in a sense the audience of Ladies' Home Journal really is all women. I like to think it is designed for all women who are prepared to grow, because women do have the time and the need and the desire to grow...

"...But when it comes right down to the question 'do I believe that all of our readers are moving far out, that they are ready to accept the breakdown in family structure,' the answer is no."[14]

In trying to get a picture of the audiences of Good Housekeeping, McCall's, and the Ladies' Home Journal, it becomes apparent that the three audiences practically share the same demographic profile, so close are they. Whether looking at the magazine's own research studies or at the statistics compiled by large professional research corporations, the percentages of difference between them almost never go beyond five per cent, and rarely reach three per cent. Therefore, the audiences of these three magazines can be considered together for purposes of finding out what the typical women's service magazine reader is like.

Back in 1954, a Starch study reported that 69 per cent of the women readers of these three magazines were housewives. A 1973 Simmons update has reduced this percentage to 53 per cent. Of the 47 per cent of the readership who are out in the job market, approximately 14 per cent hold professional/managerial positions. This compares with eight per cent in 1954.

About 66 per cent of the readership are between the ages of 18 and 49. The remaining 34 per cent are 50 and over.

About 40 per cent of them are in $15,000+ households. About 35 per cent of them are college educated.

Over 68 per cent of the readers live in metropolitan areas; 40 per cent are classified as metro-suburban residents. About 70 per cent own their own homes.

Approximately 70 per cent are married women; 50 per cent have children under 18.

The 1974-75 Simmons measures audience quality among all 33 magazines with a circulation of over a million. Below is a summary of the results as they affect the three magazines in question.

	Rank	adult median household income	Rank	per cent $15,000+ households	Rank	per cent college educated adults
LHJ	24	$13,365	21	42.5%	13	39.5%
McC	28	$13,058	25	41.6%	20	34.9%
GH	29	$12,746	28	39.2%	21	34.2%

Circulation

According to the Publisher's Statements released by ABC, the total paid circulation of both Good Housekeeping and the Ladies' Home Journal declined slightly over a one-year period, while McCall's total paid circulation rose slightly.

The price of all three magazines rose from 60 cents to 75 cents in July 1974. One-year subscriptions cost $7 for Good Housekeeping, $6.95 for McCall's, and $5.94 for the Journal.

Good Housekeeping continued to depend more than the other two on newsstand sales (27 per cent of Good Housekeeping's sales for 1974 have been newsstand sales, 11 per cent for McCall's, and 18 per cent for the Journal). While subscription sales for McCall's declined, single copy sales were up. The same is true of the Journal. Both subscription and single copy sales were down for Good Housekeeping.

Here are the figures:

	Average paid circ. for 6 months ending 6/30/74	Average paid circ. for 12 months ending 6/30/73
McCall's		
Subscriptions:	6,689,609	6,692,886
Single Copy Sales:	833,718	727,082
Average Total Paid Circulation:	7,523,327	7,419,968
Good Housekeeping		
Subscriptions:	4,075,035	4,172,855
Single Copy Sales:	1,536,386	1,542,009
Average Total Paid Circulation:	5,611,421	5,714,864
Ladies' Home Journal		
Subscriptions:	5,768,596	5,886,005
Single Copy Sales:	1,249,871	1,140,833
Average Total Paid Circulation:	7,018,467	7,026,838

As a postscript to this section, here is what John Mack Carter, then-editor and publisher of the Journal said about circulation growth in 1969:

"I had thought cutting the Journal circulation to three million might be a good idea, but then when Post went down to three million and folded, I decided it was a bad idea. It would be better to add three million. I think any magazine has to grow. The number of educated women is growing, the population is growing. You can explain your magazine's not growing because you are specializing, and doing a lot of other things, but the reason is you are probably doing something wrong. The only thing for the Journal to do today is to go out after McCall's, I believe."[15]

Advertising

Women's magazines are a valuable advertising medium. Editorial and advertising pages naturally complement each other. As James Playsted Wood points out in his book, Magazines in the United States: "Love is the subject of a romantic short story; the accessories of love are for sale in the advertising pages. A glamorous heroine walks the stage of a short story, and her counterpart--dressed in trade-marked girdle, shoes, brassiere, stockings, dress, suit, coat, and cosmetics--parades through the advertising. The beautifully furnished home interior shown in color photography in an article is matched by the beautifully furnished home interior in an equally colorful advertisement."[16]

In essence, women's magazines have always been catalogs. This is the theme of an in-house advertising report which appeared in the November 1974 issue of Ms.:

"It wasn't women's potential as readers and opinion-makers that inspired big publishers to begin directing magazines our way...It was our potential as consumers...

"...The women's magazine in a publisher's stable might be the financial support of publications labeled 'men's' or 'general interest,' 'serious' publications in which women were rarely mentioned."[17]

As "special interest" publications, the women's magazines offer the advertiser a precise target for his sales pitch. These magazines can offer much more than space: the reader's confidence in the magazine rubs off on the product. These magazines speak with authority; that is one of their great advantages over spot ads on daytime television.[18] Their publishers capitalize on that prestige in such trademarks as the Ladies' Home Journal's "the magazine women believe in," and Good Housekeeping's description of itself as "the magazine America lives by."

As Ms. magazine points out, advertising is a socializing force, a part of our education: social expectations and commercial interests can hardly be separated. In the past, "...the ads in women's magazines unlike those in men's magazines, did not reflect a range of human needs and interests...They reflected certain needs only, and were accumulated with the clear assumption that women could and should have the power to spend their consumer dollars only for products used in cooking, cleaning, raising children, and decorating ourselves with the purpose of catching or holding a man."[19]

Nowadays products never before considered proper for women's magazines--cars, liquor, books, records--are being advertised not only in the pages of Ms. but in the pages of the traditional women's service magazines as well. Good Housekeeping, which, as a matter of policy, does not accept alcoholic beverage and tobacco products, is the least progressive of the three. A study of the pages of several recent issues of Good Housekeeping, uncovered very few non-traditional women's type advertisements.

The unique Good Housekeeping Institute, first organized in 1901 as a service division of the magazine, is responsible for investigating representative samples of products advertised in Good Housekeeping. No product can be advertised until it has been found acceptable by the technical staff of the Institute. Each year, says Good Housekeeping, several hundred thousands of dollars worth of advertising is refused because products do not perform satisfactorily or live up to the claims made for them. Also, advertising is sometimes refused because certain types of products are considered potentially dangerous or non-beneficial.

This is the case with cigarette advertising, liquor, prescription drugs, high-potency vitamins, etc. The famous Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval cannot be used by any manufacturer on his product until it has met the requirements established by the technicians of the Institute.

This painstaking process does pay off. The results of a study done in April, 1974 of 10,710 housewives by McCollum Spielman and Co., Inc. demonstrated Good Housekeeping's overwhelming leadership in advertiser confidence among the best customers--housewives between the ages of 18-34 (the poll was commissioned by Good Housekeeping). This study measures the degree of confidence in terms of dual readership. It divides all respondents into 18 separate pairs, consisting of women who read Good Housekeeping plus one other magazine studied.

Good Housekeeping	45%	Good Housekeeping	45%
Ladies' Home Journal	24%	McCall's	19%

Advertising Volume

This year 1970 was a recession year. In February 1971, Newsweek Magazine reported that the women's books, like most other magazines, were "...still recovering from a financial year they would prefer to forget quickly. McCall's lost, by some estimates, nearly $4 million in 1970, Good Housekeeping was down 14 per cent in ad pages and Redbook fell 6 per cent. But, like many specialty magazines, the women's periodicals suffered less than most."[20]

Edward Fitzgerald, then-president of McCall's (which had just trimmed its page size down to news-magazine size), said, "Our future is bright because we offer services that cannot be provided by a general medium like television." The publisher of Family Circle noted that, "Food is always the last thing to be hit in a recession, and food advertisers support us." So the women's magazines soon bounced back to health.

1973

McCall's 892.31 ad pages (49% of total)	$34,268,255 ad revenue
Good Housekeeping 1,195.27 ad pages (45% of total)	$33,767,485 ad revenue
Ladies' Home Journal 1,060.1 ad pages (57% of total)	$40,860,977 ad revenue

1974

McCall's 1,009.6 ad pages (+13%)	$37,331,587 ad revenue (+ 9%)
Good Housekeeping 1,129.09 ad pages (-6%)	$31,426,939 ad revenue (-7%)

Ladies' Home Journal
1,118.5 ad pages (+6%) $38,357,689 ad revenue (-6%)

Source: P.I.B.

Layout and Graphics

Women's magazines, especially the service magazines such as Good Housekeeping, have a particular problem achieving a smooth flowing layout, due to heavy advertising. And advertising is on the increase in these magazines. Their problems are complicated by the more innovative colorful ads they are noted for. Their ads tend to grab the readers' attention more than do ads in news-type magazines; the ads are handled at least as well as the editorial content.

The most attractive ads are found on the inside front cover, the pages immediately following, and the center section.

Obviously, a good layout is necessary for printing and advertising to successfully compete for attention. Contrast between surrounding advertising and text matter is important. Good Housekeeping's table of contents page uses light type and small subheads. Helping it to stand out is usually a colorful neighboring one-column ad, as in the November 1974 issue. The Journal's contents page is given similar treatment. The table of contents page in McCall's utilizes large boldface subheadings and dark type, making it stand out on its own.

Earlier this year, Good Housekeeping changed its logo, which used to be small and crowded into one line. The new two-line logo is larger and bolder, and usually in a bright color (it used to be white). McCall's and the Journal use even bolder logos, easily recognizable on the newsstands.

Unlike its competitors, which feature one large cover photo or drawing, Good Housekeeping uses a design of two or more square or rectangular pictures illustrating the major stories of the month. Featured articles are always listed on the cover of Good Housekeeping, where newsstand sales make up a sizeable proportion of the paid readership--27 per cent.

McCall's attempts a new layout effort with every story. McCall's won two out of seven Gold Medals awarded by the Society of Publication Designers in 1973. It captured 41 awards in all last year, to the credit of the art department.

The cover of both McCall's and the Journal invariably features a famous woman -- a Kennedy, a politician's wife, an actress. Both magazines, like Good Housekeeping, list their main features on the front cover: McCall's alternates using two colors for the captions; the Journal sometimes uses as many as five colors on the captions (each feature title listed is printed in a different color).

McCall's and Good Housekeeping regularly use insert sections printed on rough stock newsprint paper. McCall's utilizes this type of paper for its "Right Now" section, Good Housekeeping uses it for its cooking section and the section called "The Better Way." The Journal uses this type of paper only when it prints a book bonus (irregularly).

Conclusion

To keep the readers interested, and thereby the advertisers (who carefully note circulation trends), the women's magazines must keep closely in touch with their public's ever-changing tastes. Their most pressing editorial problems seem to be related to the women's movement -- a movement that is still in flux and that they cannot yet know precisely how to cope with. There, they are caught on the horns of a dilemma. Just how radically the life-style of American women will change is still uncertain.

An editor can point to Time and Newsweek and Fortune and Forbes and say that the responsibility for covering intellectual and social change rests with them, and with the mass media. The women's magazines should be left to deal with "women's topics" -- sex, emotions, male-female relationships, children. But today, that seems unrealistic and outdated. The traditional magazines do have a role to play, and that is to keep their readers in touch with changing life-style patterns, and to change along with their readers. Enough is happening right in traditional women's spheres to merit the attention of editors and readers from a wide spectrum.

In other areas, these magazines continue to fill a useful role: helpful articles on health problems of women, interior decorating ideas, etc. Many women continue to enjoy some of the traditionally "female" hobbies that feminists may scorn: needlepoint, gardening, cooking. Poetry and fiction markets for women writers would be substantially reduced without the existence of these magazines.

As advertising media, they have always performed an important function in stimulating consumption. They serve as a major source of consumer information for millions of readers.

Far from slowing up, the Simmons Company reports that the women's magazine field will become much more competitive in the near future.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "*McCall's* and the New Woman," the *Writer*, 8/70, p. 10.

[2] "The Modern Woman Reader and How She's Changed," *Current Editorial Problems: A Seminar*, 2/4/69, p. 17.

[3] "Liberating Magazines," *Newsweek*, 2/8/71, p. 101.

[4] In 1969, John Mack Carter, when asked what value he put on fiction, said: "I would be happy to do without fiction except the magazine doesn't work as well without it." In 1966, "discouraged with the quality of the short story available," he tried to phase it out of the *Journal*. "And to judge by the immediate reaction of readers, the result was so bad that I started running fiction again. And I think that I know what happens on *Redbook*, and *Good Housekeeping*, and on *McCall's*, and on *Cosmopolitan* as well, and it would be difficult to do without fiction."

[5] "Liberating Magazines," *op.cit.*

[6] "Woman Power," *Newsweek*, 3/30/70, p. 61.

[7] "Liberating the Journal," *Newsweek*, 8/3/70, p. 44.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] "Liberating Magazines," *op.cit.*

[11] *Ibid*.

[12] "*McCall's* and the New Woman," p. 11.

[13] "The Modern Woman Reader," p. 2-3.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 7.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 11.

[16] Wood, James Playsted, *Magazines in the United States*, (Ronald Press Co., N.Y. 1956), p. 127-28.

[17] "A Personal Report From *Ms*.: Everything you always wanted to know about advertising-- and haven't been afraid to ask," *Ms*., 11/74, p. 56.

[18] "Advertising Policy of Women's Magazines," the *Nation*, 6/5/72, p. 710.

[19] "A Personal Report from *Ms*.," p. 57.

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The *New York Times*

Standard Rates and Data

Simmons, Starch, P.I.B., A.B.C.

Promotional material from *McCall's*, *Good Housekeeping*, and the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Chicago offices.

END